'La battaglia del fiore'[1]. Gardens, Parks and the City in Fascist Italy

SONJA DÜMPELMANN

In 1999 Dianne Harris pointed towards the political ideology of landscape 'that came to the fore at Dumbarton Oaks under the direction of Wolschke-Bulmahn'.[2] Gert Gröning and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn have published widely in this field in German, English and American journals. Harris also mentioned the lacuna in the historiography of gardens in fascist Italy. These last years have seen an increasing interest in the subject, and some recent works have attempted to start to fill the gap.[3]

Not only did fascist ideology influence garden design, horticulture, open space planning and initiatives for landscape protection. But these different facets of garden culture were also instrumentalized by the fascists in order to pursue their goal of creating a 'third Rome'. This article presents some of the aspects that characterized garden culture under the fascist regime from 1922 until the early 1940s. It aims at showing how far the fascists' appropriation of cultural symbols also involved garden culture and presents examples of how fascism politicized and instrumentalized the gardening pursuits of the average Italian citizen as well as professional landscape architectural and horticultural production.

The Neglect of Garden Culture

When the fascists seized power with the march on Rome in October 1922, garden design and horticulture in Italy was largely neglected. In fact, urban development, speculation and little respect for garden art had led to the destruction of numerous villas and private gardens in the big Italian cities such as Milan and Rome between 1860 and 1910. The introduction of the landscape garden *c.* 1800 had led to a decrease in the number of plant nurseries and plant cultivation generally, causing early twentieth-century art critics to condemn the style of the landscape garden as contradictory to the Italian spirit.[4] Thus, whereas Italian literati at the beginning of the nineteenth century had discussed vehemently and had tried to prove the Italian origin of the landscape garden,[5] a hundred years later its adoption in Italy was considered a 'faux pas' in the history of Italian garden design and unworthy of scientific research. The few Italian art critics such as Luigi Dami (1882–1926) and Maria Pasolini Ponti (1857–1938) and architects of the period who were concerned with garden art were therefore mostly interested in Italian renaissance gardens.

Paradoxically, while the development of garden styles in Italy came to a standstill, countries such as England, Germany and the USA continued to use Italian renaissance and baroque gardens as models into the twentieth century. The young British architects Geoffrey Alan Jellicoe (1900–96) and John Chiene Shepherd (b. 1896) as well as American architects and landscape architects, Fellows of the American Academy in Rome, came to Italy in order to study its neglected gardens. Members of the American and British financial aristocracy were amongst the first to restore some of the renaissance villas such as the Villa Gamberaia and the Villa La Pietra near Florence.[6] In Italy, the few publications dealing with garden art, the comparatively late foundation of the first horticultural societies, the lack of collaboration between nurserymen, botanists, gardeners and architects, the absence of professional Italian landscape designers, the scarce supply of plants, and unfavourable social, economic, cultural and political factors all contributed to the neglect of garden culture in the first years of the twentieth century. In 1928, the architect Tomaso Buzzi (1900–81) spoke of a 'general lack of interest in garden art'.[7] Rome's Director of Parks and Gardens, Bruno Braschi (d.1937), identified the problem in 1933

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when Fascist cultural politics had already started to take an active part in reviving Italy's garden culture: 'garden architecture [which] until yesterday was neglected and — with some exceptions — was in the hands of gardeners who know very little about art, or architects who know little about gardening'.[8]

The Renewed Interest in Gardens and Garden Design

The first attempts to revive the Italian garden tradition were undertaken in the second decade of the twentieth century. Finally, after Americans, British and Germans had published on the subject,[9] in 1915, the duchess and member of the *Associazione artistica fra i Cultori di architettura in Roma* (AACAR) Maria Pasolini Ponti published her book on 'The Italian Garden'. However, even in this first Italian monograph published on the subject in the twentieth century, the dominance of foreign contemporaries in the field became apparent: Pasolini Ponti quoted and translated passages from Edith Wharton's book Italian villas and their gardens (New York, 1904).[10] Ponti's publication was followed after WWI by two volumes written on the same subject by the art critic Luigi Dami.[11] Highlighting and supporting the formal character traits of the Italian garden Pasolini Ponti and Dami not only rejected the landscape garden but also condemned eclecticism and the pluralism of styles which until then had chatacterized garden design throughout the Italian peninsular.[12] They supported the 'return to order' ('ritorno all'ordine'), a general tendency in the arts of the time. This tendency which in the case of Pasolini Ponti and Dami can largely be attributed to the cultural nationalism common at the time, also became apparent in articles on garden art published in Italian architectural journals with greater frequency from the late 1920s onwards. Strong architectural features structuring the planted grounds and attributed to the Italian renaissance gardens were a favourite design principle authors referred to. Though sometimes falsely attributed to Bartolomeo Ammanati (1511–1592),[13] the phrase by the renaissance artist Baccio Bandinelli (1488–1560) that 'what is built must guide and be superior to what is planted' ('le cose che si murano debbono essere guide e superiori a quelle che si piantano') was quoted frequently and used to promote the revival of the Italian garden tradition.[14] In the 1920s and the 1930s Italian art critics and architects agreed on the fact that the Italian garden tradition was to be continued and renewed by adhering to what they called renaissance design principles while at the same time adapting the design to modern day needs.[15] They called for a (second) 'renaissance' of garden art in Italy.[16]

The increased attention towards gardens and their history also caused the Roman legislators to take into account the protection of historic parks and gardens when they were drawing up the new law no. 778 of June 24, 1922 for the 'protection of the natural beauties and immovable structures of particular historic interest'.[17] As early as 1905 one of the pioneers of nature protection in Italy and the chief theorist of conservation legislation, Luigi Parpagliolo (1868–1953), had demanded the protection of historic gardens.[18] After the first provisional attempt to extend the jurisdiction (no. 688) for the protection of monuments and cultural heritage to 'villas, parks and gardens that are of historic and artistic interest' on June 23, 1912, the new law finally provided an appropriate instrument for their protection. The law of June 1922 marked a high point in the liberal-progessive Italian nature protection movement that had begun with the protection of woods and forests after the Italian unification and had come to a temporary standstill during WW I.[19] The law of 1922 provided the basis for the establishment of the first national parks beginning with the 'Gran Paradiso' in the year of the fascists' seizure of power, followed by the *Abbruzzo* National Park (1923), the *Circeo* southwest of Rome (1934) and the *Stelvio* National Park near the Swiss border in 1935. Although the 1930s have been characterized as a period of 'conservation's quiet retreat',[20] the law of 1922 was a starting point for further discussion, revision and development of cultural heritage and nature conservation issues undertaken under the fascist regime and culminating in the new laws no. 1089 and no. 1497 approved on June 1 and June 29, 1939.

The Fascist Politicization of Garden Culture

The renewed interest in garden design was furthered by fascist social and cultural politics. Mussolini realized that in order to establish a 'third Rome' he had to integrate gardens and parks into the plans for city development. By following in the footsteps of the Roman emperors Augustus, Nero, Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius who had created numerous gardens and parks in and outside Rome,[21] Mussolini aimed at establishing a continuity between the imperial past and the totalitarian present. The dictator and his followers also

realized the potential of garden culture for influencing and indoctrinating the masses and distracting from problems such as unemployment and housing. Thus, after the leader of the socialist opposition, Giacomo Matteotti (1885–1924) had been murdered in June 1924 and Mussolini had consolidated his power by declaring his dictatorship in January 1925, diverse initiatives and events for the promotion of garden culture were undertaken, especially in the Italian capital.

Parks as Propaganda

In his speech introducing the new land use plan for Rome in 1930 Mussolini deliberately overlooked the housing problems that had arisen as a consequence of the restructuring of the urban core. The demolition of houses in the centre of Rome for the building of new thoroughfares had driven the poor citizens out of the center and into the newly built tenements on the city's outskirts with insufficient infrastructure and community facilities. In order to distract from his deficient social politics Mussolini emphasized the creation of new parks and other community facilities: 'One also has to provide the city with new parks, gardens, baths, gyms, in order to ventilate and bring light to the overcrowded quarters. This air and light were the virtues of the renaissance villas of Rome which unfortunately have been destroyed. Air and light: basic and essential conditions for health. The aggregates of small shabby houses and the hovels that infested the old quarters come under the destroying and sanitizing pickaxe; beautiful, big, light, hygienic houses rise for the poor who never had a home; and to the joy of the children and mothers and for the tranquil rest of the elderly the parks and gardens ring them with green'.[22]

The Roman land use plan of 1931 proposed allotment gardens as well as public and private parks which were to be connected by treelined avenues.[23] It was the first *Piano Regolatore Generale* (land use plan) to integrate a park system with two different developments that complemented one another. The architects Marcello Piacentini (1881–1960) and Luigi Piccinato (1899–1983) had from 1916 onwards repeatedly argued for the integration of a park system into the Roman land use plan.[24] At this time the significance of park systems and open space for city planning had been recognized internationally and was studied attentively by architects and city planners throughout Europe. Piacentini acknowledged the example of Olmsted's park systems and the Chicago park system for his plans for Rome.[25] By 1931 the fascists had fully grasped the chances natural amenities, such as parks and gardens, provided for indoctrinating the masses and for promoting their ideology of the native culture and the Italian spirit (italianità) as well as the celebration of Roman antiquity (romanità). The land use plan provided for new parks to be created and complement the park system. Roman ruins were to be highlighted by tree plantings and the design of surrounding gardens. Plans were made for several streets to be broadened and for new thoroughfares to be constructed and planted with trees.

From 1925 until 1938, before the planning activities and preparations for the World Exhibition 1942 in Rome intensified, the municipal *Direzione Giardini* layed out numerous parks and gardens in the Capital. Most of the park designs were provided by the architect Raffaele de Vico (1881–1969),[26] others such as the garden of the *piazza Bocca della Verità* were designed by the architect Clemente Busiri Vici (1887–1965).[27] Following the example of the Villa Borghese that had been opened to the public in 1903, other villa gardens such as *villa Celimontana, villa Aldobrandini, villa Paganini, villa Fiorelli* (figure 1) and *villa Sciarra* were partly redesigned and opened to the public.[28]

In 1931 the director of gardens and parks, Bruno Braschi proudly declared that the Roman garden tradition had by the year VIII been continued in a worthy fashion.[29] In fact, the writer Eugenio Marignani without any inhibition stated a year later that parks and gardens were considered 'a very effective propaedeutic means' to induce a feeling for beauty in the people and bring them into contact with their history.[30] The propaganda effect the fascists attributed to parks and gardens not only showed in direct statements such as this one, but also in the dates chosen for the inauguration of the new parks and gardens. E.g. the Parco del Celio, the Parco di Castel Fusano and the Parco Cestio were inaugurated on April 21, the day that in 1924 was declared by Mussolini the *Natale di Roma*, a holiday for the celebration of the foundation of Rome and Roman antiquity.

The revived interest in gardens and the design and construction of numerous parks in the Italian capital revealed the shortage of experts in the field, such as landscape architects.[31] Furthermore the bad training of gardeners was criticised.[32] In 1932 Maria Teresa Parpagliolo Shephard stated that new gardeners would have to be found 'who are highminded and have an artistic sense and who love their work. Here is an open career in these difficult times.'[33] To remedy these shortcomings the *Scuola pratica per allievi giardinieri*

FIGURE 1. *Bird's eye view drawing of the Villa Fiorelli, by Raffaele de Vico ('Un' antica villa romana restituita al patrimonio pubblico dei giardini',* Capitolium, *7, 11 (1931), p. 580 [pp. 577–580]).*

was founded in October 1927 under the direction of the municipal director of parks and gardens Bruno Braschi.[34] Students could enter the professional training school at the age of 14. The courses that were held by various Roman professionals active in the field such as the director of the botanical garden, Onorato Traverso, and the horticulturalist Augusto Ludovici constituted a three-year program. On occasion of the tenth anniversary of the march on Rome in 1932, a new course program, consisting of an introductory three-year course followed by a three-year technical course, was established and the school was turned into the gardener's training school *Scuola Professionale Giardinieri* (figures 2 and 3).

It was renamed after the dictator's brother Arnaldo Mussolini (1885–1931) who had served as president to the *Comitato Forestale* and died in 1931. The courses included natural sciences such as physics, chemistry, botany, genetics, entomology, plant pathology and soil science as well as garden architecture, design and practical excercises in the school's garden.[35] Although most probably some other basic training facilities for gardeners and horticulturalists existed in Italy and the municipality of Milan established the *Scuola per i giardinieri del Comune di Milano* in 1927 the Roman *Scuola Professionale Giardinieri* was publicized as 'unique in Italy'.[36] The fascist centralist politics also showed in the organization of higher education. Due to its location, the architecture school in Rome, that had been founded in 1919, acted as model
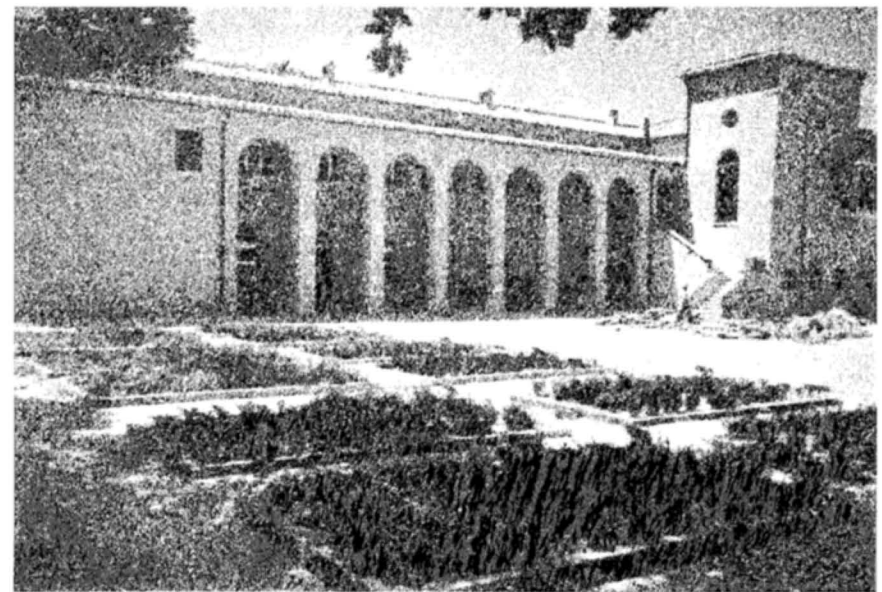
FIGURE 2. *The* Scuola Professionale Giardinieri *on the via di porta S. Sebastiano, c. 1935. The building was designed by the architect Berardi Bonaventura (Giorgio Gabrielli, 'La scuola professionale giardinieri',* Capitolium, *11, 7 (1935), p. 356 [pp. 355–362]).*

FIGURE 3. *Students working in the* Scuola Professionale Giardinieri's *experimental gardens, c. 1935 (Giorgio Gabrielli, 'La scuola professionale giardinieri',* Capitolium, *11, 7 (1935), p. 355 [pp. 355–362]).*

for the establishment of other architecture schools in Venice (1926), Turin (1929), Naples and Florence (1930) under the fascist regime. Following the example in Rome professorships for town planning and garden art were set up in all of these schools. Thus, at the university level garden design was dealt with exclusively by architects. Resulting from a joint initiative of the *Circolo di Coltura del Sindacato Archietti (Commissione dei giardini)*, the *Società Orticola di Lombardia* and the Milan faculty of architecture, the architect Ferdinando Reggiori (1898–1976) devised a special course on 'garden art and horticulture' at the *Politecnico di Milano* in 1937.[37] However, this course was an exception. Architects and professionals at the time lamented missing suitable higher training facilities for horticulturalists and garden designers. The architect Enrico Ratti characterized the situation: 'These [horticulture] schools abroad [Versailles, Kew, Berlin] send us their alumni to plan and direct gardens and they accommodate Italian students who do not find a horticultural college in their homeland'.[38]

Besides professionals such as gardeners, architects and landscape architects, the average Italian was encouraged to contribute to the promotion of garden culture under the fascist regime.

'la battaglia del fiore'

In 1939 it was reported in *Capitolium* that the Italian garden under Mussolini had again reached the supremacy it had once held and that in the previous years there had been noteworthy progress in horticulture: 'The threads which connect us to our great tradition have been tied together again'. The report went on by noting that the individuals' interest in parks and flowers had been reawakened, public parks constructed and competitions for the floral embellishment of the cities had been held.[39] Looking back on the previous years, the landscape architect Pietro Porcinai stated in 1942: '[...] for some time now we have experienced a certain reawakened love for these particular beauties of creation and there is a tendency to disseminate again amongst the people this cult of nature, of flowers and plants [...] there is the attempt to guide the people to the cult of the beauties of Flora [...]'.[40]

Not dissimilar to the national socialists' promotion of the 'inherited German tribe's love of trees, shrubs and flowers',[41] the fascists in Italy tried to establish a cult of nature, flowers and plants. In Germany the nationalist socialist politics to enhance Germans' rootedness in the soil led to the employment of landscape architects for the planning of settlements in the 'Annexed Eastern areas', the Polish territories conquered during World War II. Parallel to this instrumentalization of landscape architecture in Germany, the fascists considered green open space and the embellishment with ornamental plants important characteristics in the new towns and settlements built in the Pontine Marshes southwest of Rome in the 1930s. The ornamental plantings in Mussolinia were e.g. advertised as 'the secret of her beauty'. The promotion of Mussolinia and rural life as one of the main objectives of the dictator's call for the ruralization of Italian society was furthered by pointing out that the roses, hortensias, pelargonias, carnations and dalias as well as various annual flowering plants were a 'manifestation of the industrious fertility, a graceful ensemble that harmonises with the quiet life of the rural family'.[42]

In 1928 the editorial of the journal *Capitolium* argued that, since the city had been embellished with new parks and gardens during the past years,

competitions for the beautification of balconies would now spread the cult of flowers to the individual homes.[43] A year after the fascists had begun to try and increase wheat production with the 'battaglia del grano' ('battle of wheat'), a campaign they had launched in 1925, *Capitolium* invited families to participate in the 'battaglia del fiore' ('battle of flowers'). The editorial used this militaristic metaphor to describe the fascists' floral beautification efforts throughout the country and their social and economic campaign for the increase of plant production.

From 1928 onwards competitions for 'flowering balconies' ('balconi fioriti') were carried out in Rome and subsequently in other cities, e.g. Florence and Milan.[44]

They were organized by two groups of the *Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro's* (O. N. D.) womens' association which dealt with horticulture and gardening. The big interest in floral decoration in Rome led the O. N. D. to establish an individual section in the Italian capital, the *Direzione Tecnica 'Roma Fiorita'*. Endorsed by the city governer and the *Società italiana 'Amici dei Fiori'* the *Direzione Tecnica 'Roma Fiorita'* tried to enhance Rome's beauty with floral arrangements. This initiative not only aimed at convincing other cities to follow Rome's example. It was also considered a warm-up for achieving optimal results in 1942 when the capital was supposed to host the World Exhibition and boast green facades and flowering balconies. Besides acting as a means of national propaganda, the competitions were supposed to 'motivate families to engage in a healthy, educational, leisurely occupation that even within the town walls enabled them to get in contact with nature, the inexhaustible source of physical vigour and spiritual rest'.[45]

Other competitions aimed at beautifying rural dwellings ('La casa rurale fiorita', 1934), holiday resorts ('I soggiorni fioriti') and the embellisment of railway stations ('Le stazioni fiorite', from 1925 onwards).[46]

The O. N. D. also proposed to award prizes for the best kitchen garden and the prettiest house garden in Rome.[47]

These different competitions not only aimed at reviving the cult of flowers, but also at providing leisure occupations and promoting tourism. As the 'battaglia del grano', the 'battaglia del fiore' was also an attempt to achieve the country's autarky and independence from plant imports. Only a few plant breeders and nurseries existed in Italy at the beginning of the twentieth century and most plant selections were still very limited if compared to the offers from German and British firms.[48]

FIGURE 4. *A window with flowers in Turin, c. 1934 (Louise Diel,* Frau im faschistischen Italien *(Berlin) 1934, p. 27).*
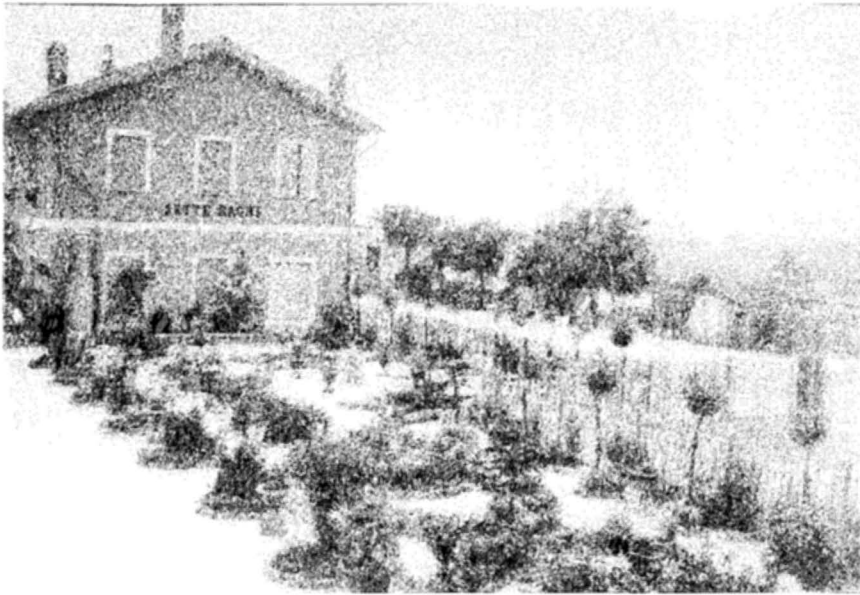
FIGURE 5. *Competition for the design of the 'most beautiful flowered railway station', Sette Bagni, winner of the gold medal, 1931 (Eva Mameli Calvino, 'Fiori per l'abbellimento delle stazioni',* Il giardino fiorito. Rivista mensile della società italiana "Amici dei Fiori", *1, 11 (1931), p. 200 [pp. 200–202]).*

In fact, as late as 1940 the landscape architect Pietro Porcinai (1910–1986) wrote in a letter to the German plant breeder and nurseryman Karl Foerster (1874–1970) that herbaceous plants were hardly known yet in Italy.[49] Thus, as a widely traveled landscape architect and with work experience and contacts abroad Maria Teresa Parpagliolo Shephard (1903–1974) was in the position to introduce herbaceous borders and the use of herbaceous plant species as novelties to an inexperienced Italian readership in the articles she published in *Domus* in the 1930s. In 1932 she demanded progress in plant breeding so that landscape architects and garden owners would have more and better material to work with in the future.[50] The development of horticulture and the inland production and cultivation of plants was also promoted by the establishment of the prize 'Premio Bruno Braschi' named after the Roman director of parks and gardens who died in 1937.[51] The initiatives to support the cultivation of greater varieties and quantities of plant species did seem to have an effect. In 1938 it was reported that the demand for plants was sufficiently met by plant breeders in Italy.[52] However, the fascists' interest in plants did not cease here. On the occasion of the planned World Exhibition the vice president of the planning commission, Cipriano Efisio Oppo (1890–1962), proposed in December 1939 to hold a competition for the cultivation of a black 'flower E42' ('fiore E42'). The rose, dalia, lily or other species was supposed to be black like the fascist blackshirts.[53] At this time a plant breeder from the Netherlands had already expressed his humour or his admiration for Mussolini by bringing a deeply red, nearly brown coloured tulip on the market, which was named after the fascist dictator.[54]

The beginning of WW II caused the 'battaglia del fiore' to lose ground. Instead, from 1940 onwards the slightly different 'battaglia del grano' gained importance. The citizens' food supply was supposed to be secured by a competition for the construction of 'war gardens.' Open space, parks and gardens in the cities were turned into fields for the production of vegetables and grain.[55]

'I pini di Roma'

Economic policies attempting to achieve self-sufficiency as well as the fascist celebration of Roman antiquity also influenced the choice of materials in architecture and garden design. The competition announcement for the *Palazzo della Civiltà italiana*, a building for the World Exhibition 1942, for instance demanded the use of local materials to achieve a certain aesthetic result and to reduce transport and support the local economy.[56] In order to connect to the imperial past architects preferred building materials such as travertine and marble. In open space planning and garden design certain plant species were given preference. The pine (Pinus pinea) especially, was considered to forge an Italian and specifically Roman identity. T. Agostini wrote in 1934 in *Capitolium*: '[...] the pine always stays the characteristic tree of Rome, it is impossible to imagine the "Roman countryside" without the "Roman pine"'.[57] On April 28, 1937 Mussolini planted a pine to celebrate the begining of the construction of the World Exhibition (figure 7).

Pines were also planted along main roads and major thoroughfares such as the Via Imperiale (today Via Cristoforo Colombo) although the tree is unsuited for roadside plantings because of its shallow roots. The belief that pines were 'more italic species' ('essenze più italiche') led to the replacement of

elmtrees by pines along roadsides.[58] However, the Canadian landscape architect Christopher Tunnard (1910–1979) criticised these Roman practices in 1937: '[...] near Rome, some attempt has been made to introduce the native pine along the roadsides but almost everywhere it has been treated as an avenue tree, a category into which it fits most badly'.[59]

The symbolism attributed to the pine also became apparent in other forms of artistic expression such as painting and music. Carlo Carrà (1881–1966) wanted to achieve 'a mythical representation of nature' with his 'Il pino sul mare' (1921; figure 8),[60] and in 1924 Ottorino Respighi (1879–1936) composed his sinfonic poem 'I pini di Roma' having in mind the pines of different Roman localities.

'La flora classica' and 'La flora virgiliana'

Together with various other shrubs and tree species typical of the Mediterranean macchia such as aleppo pines, holm oaks, cypresses, arbutus,

FIGURE 7. *The planting of a pine by the garden firm Nicolini celebrating the beginning of construction of the World Exhibition, 1937. Mussolini is standing in the middle of the front row (private collection).*
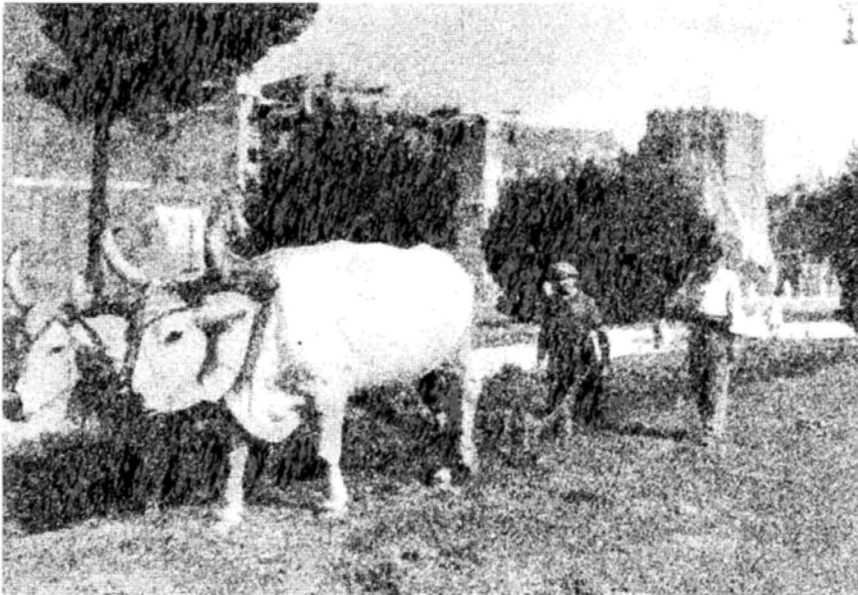
FIGURE 6. *The 'war gardens' along the Via dell'Impero are being ploughed, c. 1941 ('Gli orti di guerra',* Capitolium, *16, 11 (1941), p. 365 [pp. 365–367]).*

laurel, oleander, and boxwood, the pine belonged to the selection of species that were preferred for the construction of parks and gardens particularly in the fascist period. These species belonged to the so called 'flora classica'[61] and 'flora virgiliana'. The German garden architect Siegfried Blau commented on the use of plants in Roman house gardens in 1937: 'Cypress, holm oak, pine, laurel, olive and a treelike myrtle belong to the native, antique flora, that was already sung by Vergil and provides the Italian garden with such uniquely beautiful, infinite green'.[62] Because of his epic *Aeneas*, Vergil (70BC–19BC) was one of the most prominent literary figures to be commemorated by the fascists as national hero and instrumentalized for the legitimization of their ideologies of 'romanità' and 'italianità'. Besides Vergil and Horace the fascists honored the writers Dante Alighieri (1265–1321), Ludovico Ariosto (1474–1533), Torquato Tasso (1544–1595), Ugo Foscolo (1778–1827), Giosuè Carducci (1835–1907), Gabriele d'Annunzio (1863–1938), Giovanni Pascoli (1855–1912), the painters and architects Giotto (1266–67/1276–1337),
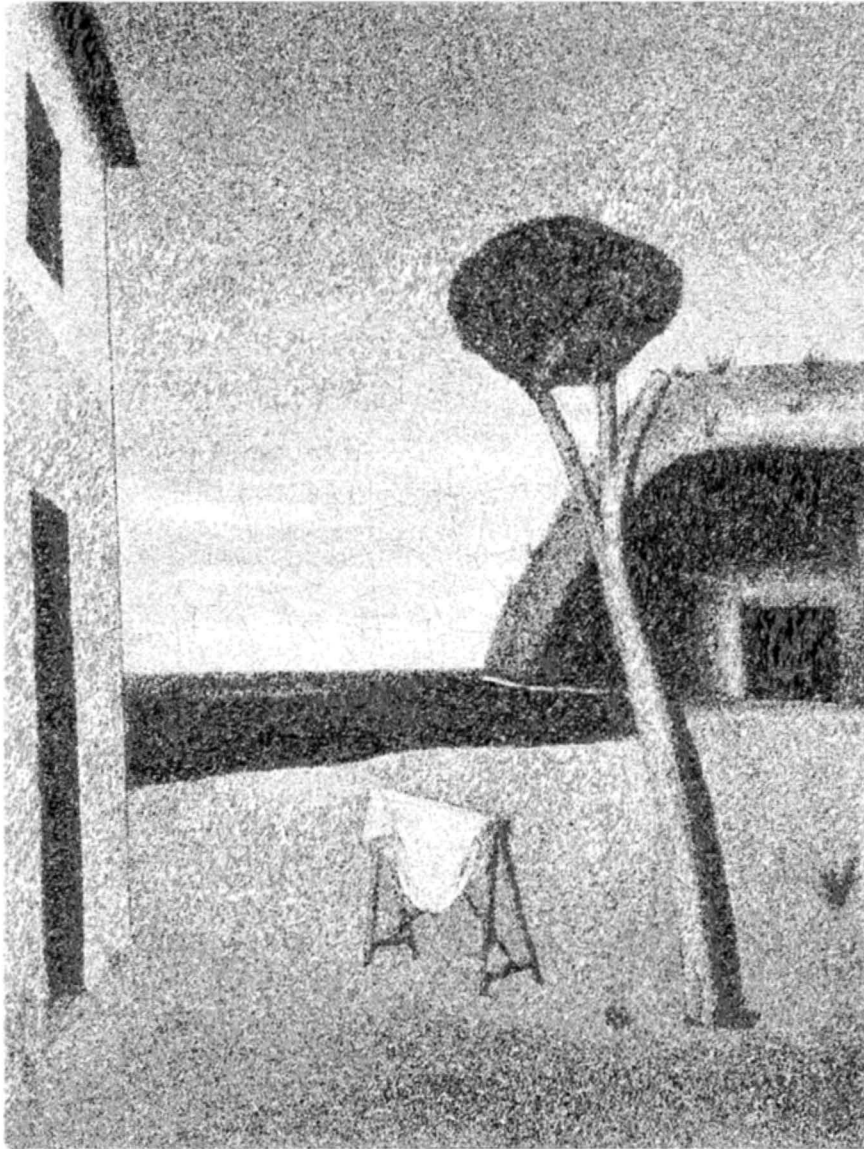
FIGURE 8. *'Il pino sul mare', oil on canvas, Carlo Carrà, 1921 (Massimo Carrà, 'Leben und Werk von Carrà', in* Carlo Carrà – Retrospektive (1987). Katalog zur Ausstellung in der Staatlichen Kunsthalle Baden-Baden 4.10.–6.12.1987 *(Milan) 1987, p. 76 [pp. 69–87]).*

Brunelleschi (1377–1446), Raphael (1483–1520) and the composers Pergolesi (1710–1736), Rossini (1792–1868) and other prominent cultural figures who personified the glories of the Italian high cultural tradition.[63] Due to the plants and rural, pastoral scenes described in Vergil's work, it seemed appropriate to commemorate the 2000th anniversary of his birth in Pietole near Mantova in 1930 in the form of a park with tree species mentioned in his epic works. The *bosco virgiliano* was constructed according to the design of the garden architect Giuseppe Roda whom Mussolini's brother Arnaldo had decided was the winner of the design competition. Numerous busts and herms with inscriptions from Vergil's opus were to be distributed throughout the formally layed-out grounds which also included a labyrinth and a kitchen garden for the cultivation of vegetables, vines, fruit trees and herbs mentioned in Vergil's work.[64] 12 years after its implementation Giuseppe Guerra praised the *bosco virgiliano* as 'composed of the most classic, the most literary selection of flora of the world'.[65] For centuries Italian literary figures had been honored and politicized to forge a common Italian cultural tradition when a continuous political and social unitiy was lacking.[66] In fact, Vergil's bust had not only been depicted on Mantova's coat-of-arms and on coins in the middle ages, but the poet had been commemorated in this city repeatedly in form of festivities and statues but also in the form of public parks. After Napoleon had won Lombardy from the Austrians in 1796 his general Alessandro Miollis honoured the poet with the construction of a park, *La nuova virgiliana*, in Pietole and the park on the *piazza virgiliana* in Mantova. More than a century before the fascists, Napoleon politicized Vergil not only by organizing annual celebrations commemorating the poet but by constructing parks for the citizens' wellbeing. The parks were to present the republican, democratic virtues such as liberty, equality, fraternity, moral, courage and peace, character traits Napoleon attributed to his politics and which were thought to conform with Vergil's ideals of nature. Kerstin Appelshäuser has pointed out that Napoleon instrumentalized the local cult of Vergil as a means of gaining support for his politics.[67] The project for the *bosco virgiliano* initiated by Arnaldo Mussolini in the twentieth century not only shows parallels to the initiatives under Napoleon, but it also took up proposals that the writers Ferruccio Carreri (1861–1923) and Giovanni Pascoli (1855–1912) had made c. 1900 for the planting of a holy wood. In 1910, these ideas were developed further by the archeologist and architect Giacomo Boni (1859–1925) who suggested to the *Regia Accademia Virgiliana di Mantova* that they plant such a copse along the

road to Pietole. Boni proposed this spinney should consist of about 130 different tree and shrub species mentioned in Vergil's *Eclogues*, his *Georgics* and in the writings of Horace (65BC–8BC), Tibullus (c. 55BC–c. 19BC) and Propertius (55-43BC–after 16BC) as well as species that were represented in the murals at Pompei and on the Palatine. Because of their origin these species were called *flora classica*, a term used in addition to *flora virgiliana* which was especially common at the time of the celebration of Vergil's two thousand year birthday. Bruno Braschi reported in 1931 that 'the Duce' had wished the *parco di Ostia antica* to merely consist of 'species belonging to the flora classica [...]: pines and holm oaks'.[68] 'A classic image' was also achieved by the plantings of pines, holm oaks, boxwood and cypresses in the *parco virgiliano* (figures 9 and 10): This new public park was designed by Raffaele de Vico for parts of the grounds of the *villa Lancellotti* in the northeast of Rome. It was dedicated to Vergil in the year of his birthday celebrations in 1930. The species of the *flora classica* constituted structural elements in the new parks designed by de Vico during the 1920s and 1930s.

Giacomo Boni's legacy

In 1928 A. de Vito Tommasi noted that the 'resurrection of the antique classical flora' had to be attributed to Giacomo Boni (figure 11).[69] It is, in fact, most likely that the *flora classica* and *flora virgiliana* derived from Boni's plant selection and conception, the *flora dei monumenti* or *flora dei ruderi*. Although he was mentioned in the German magazine *Gartenschönheit*,[70] Boni, who was a prominent figure in Rome due to his work and position in the *Direzione Generale delle Antichità e Belle Arti*, was hardly ever named in publications by the designers, architects and art critics in charge of or commenting on the national capital's green open space. This is even more astounding considering the fact that Boni has been attributed with inspiring Raffaele de Vico to design parks and gardens.[71] However, Boni was also critized by contemporaries as 'destroyer of the antique [ruins], a maniac gardener who buried the excavations under vegetation',[72] and conflicts with the minister of education Guido Baccelli (1832–1916) and Boni's isolated lifestyle especially during his last years might offer explanations for the lack of direct reference to his ideas. Boni, who led the excavations of the Roman forum and on the Palatine from 1898 until 1914, in the decade between 1885 and 1895 invented a project for embellishing and protecting the Roman ruins with selected plant species (figures 12 and 13).

The plants that derived from classical sources such as Pliny's works and the murals of the villa Livia and of houses in Pompei,[73] were supposed to incorporate the ruins into the landscape and prevent them from further decay. Boni's patriotic and romantic notions had been nourished by his acquaintance with John Ruskin (1819–1900) during his earlier years in Venice.[74] His ideas also show similarities to those in the plans of the French prefect Comte Camille de Tournon (1778–1833). Not only did de Tournon propose the planting of trees to protect the Roman monuments, but in 1811 during Napoleon's occupation of Rome he also proposed to incorporate the colosseum, the via Appia and the Roman ruins near the campidoglio into a public park. The parks planned under Napoleon's occupation and reign were the result of his social policies that were influenced by Rousseau's philosophy of nature. They were to provide Napoleon with a stage set for establishing himself as the legitimate heir of Augustus and imperial Rome.[75] The idea for a *parco archeologico* or *passeggiata archeologica* was taken up in the land use plans drawn up for Rome after the Italian unification.[76] Boni's project for the embellishment and the protection of the Roman ruins, however, did not gain the necessary support so that after some attempts he finally retreated to the Palatine where he spent the last years of his life working on projects such as the reconstruction of plantings of this historic site. In the realms of garden culture the evolution of the *flora dei monumenti* defined by Boni in 1892 to the *flora classica* and *flora virgiliana* in the fascist period reflects the shift from an often romantic cultural nationalism that characterized Italy after its unification in 1861 to the cultural nationalism endorsed by the fascists whom Boni also supported in the last years of his life.

Boni's influence is not only seen in the use of the *flora classica* and *flora virgiliana* in the fascist period. The idea of the protective and beautifying qualities he attributed to the plants lived on in the conservationist Edwin Cerio's (1875–1960) conviction that the roofs of the rural dwellings of Capri could successfully be embellished and protected by the plants that established themselves there.[77]

Boni's concepts also survived in the ideas for the use of Roman ruins as focal points in public parks and for the use of plants for the reconstruction of destroyed antique structures in the years 1930–40. Under the director of the
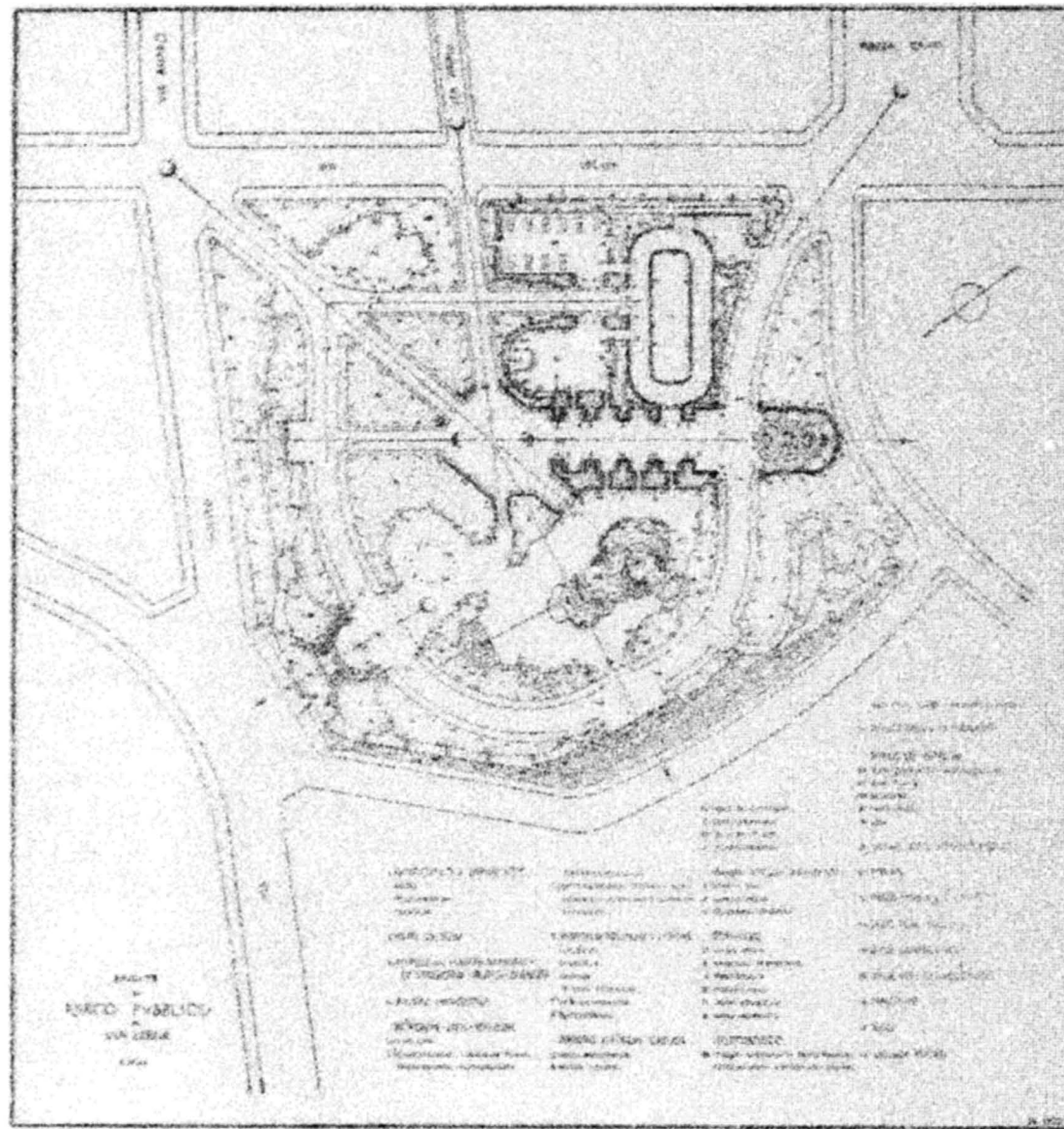
FIGURE 9. *Plan of the* Parco virgiliano *in Rome, Raffaele de Vico, c. 1930 (Bruno Braschi, 'Parchi e giardini pubblici del Governatorato nell'anno VIII',* Capitolium, *7, 3 (1931), p. 110 [pp. 107–116]).*
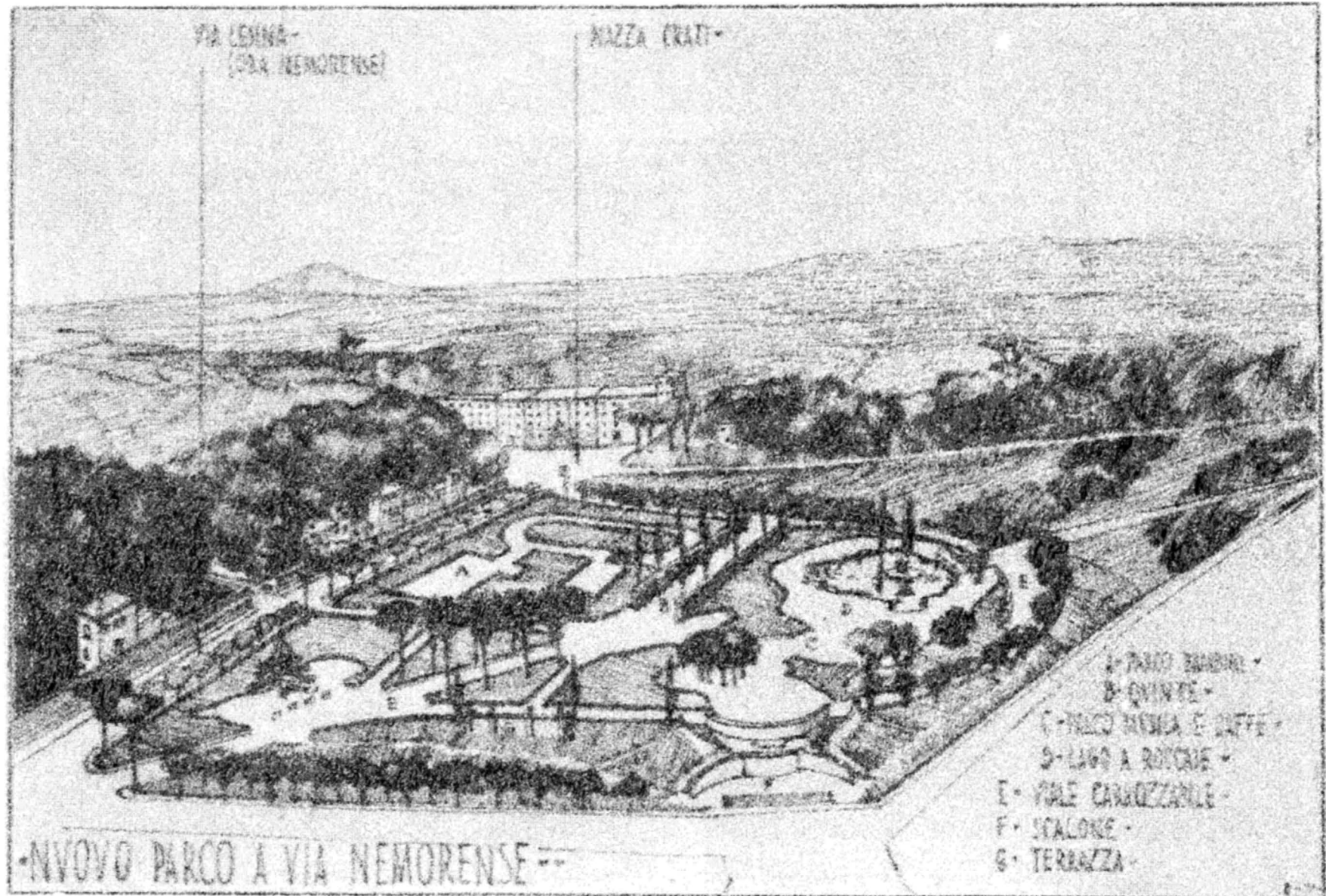
FIGURE 10. *Bird's eye view drawing of the* Parco virgiliano *in Rome, Raffaele de Vico, c. 1930 (Bruno Braschi, 'Parchi e giardini pubblici del Governatorato nell'anno VIII',* Capitolium, *7, 3 (1931), p. 109 [pp. 107–116]).*
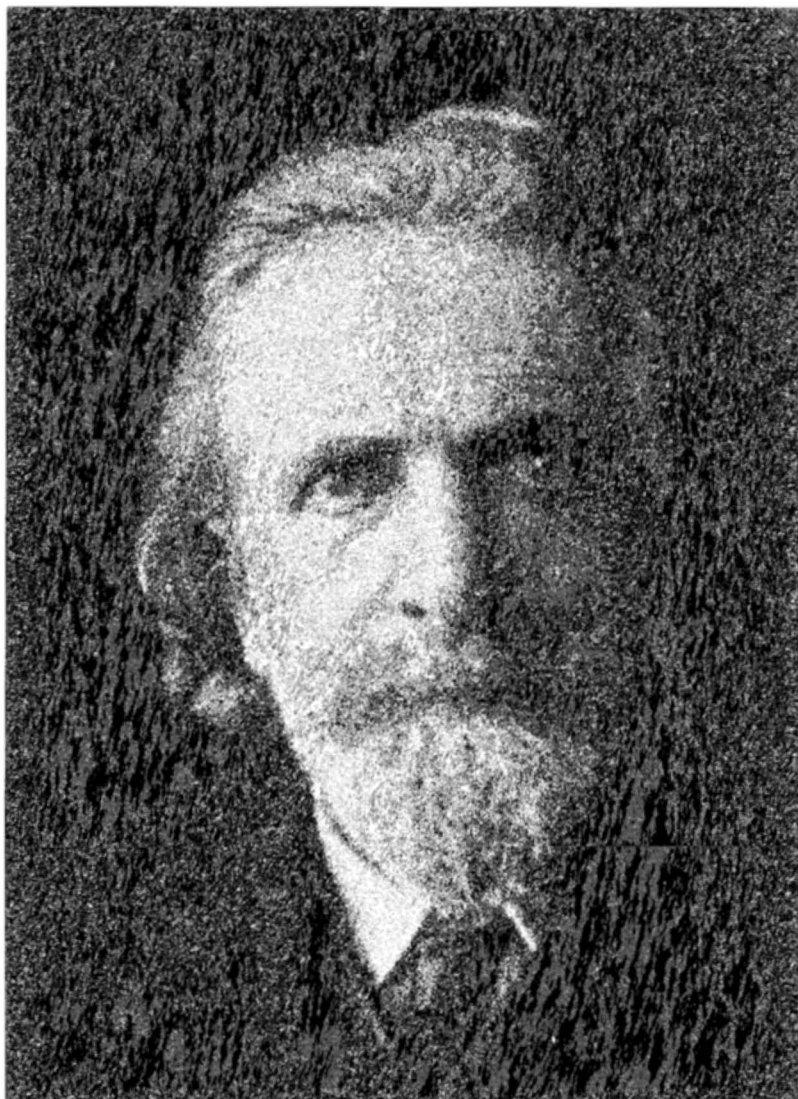
FIGURE 11. *Giacomo Boni (Eva Tea,* Giacomo Boni *(Milan) 1932, without page number).*
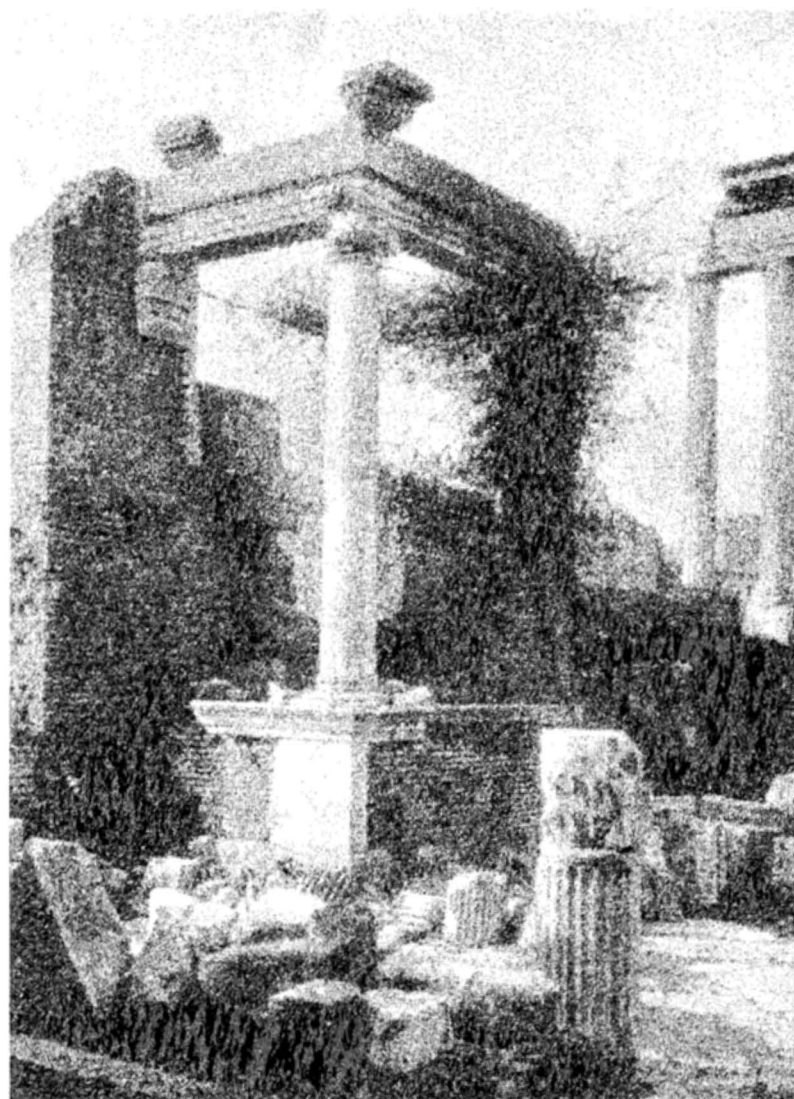
FIGURE 12. *Roses and jasmin at the edicula dedicated to Vesta (Giacomo Boni, 'Terra mater',* Nuova Antologia. Rivista di lettere, scienze ed arti, *45, Fasc. 918 (March 16), p. 208 [pp. 193–220]).*

Amministrazione delle Antichità e Belle Arti of the municipal government, Antonio Muñoz (1884–1960), plants were used to mark the location and fill out the volumes of ruined antique buildings. Near the Venus Temple clipped boxwood hedges marked former steps, a hedge of laurel was a substitute for a ruined wall and the former columns of a peristyl were represented by privet. The area was further embellished with oleander, gorse bushes, lavender and climbing roses.[78] In the *parco del Colle Oppio* the structures of the thermae of Trajan were supposed to be marked by clipped box hedges.

The design by Raffaele de Vico's son Fabrizio de Vico for a park on the rectangularly shaped former military grounds enclosed by the *viale Castro Pretorio* and *viale del Policlinico* staged the existant ruins of ancient walls and buildings (figure 16). De Vico integrated the remains of the *castra praetoria*, the *porta praetoriana* and *porta principalis dextera* into the park and used them partly as focal points. Figure 17 shows the way De Vico used trees, clipped hedges and water features to stage and adorn the ruins. The central design feature of the park is made up of three ruined arches behind a rectangular water basin with fountains. The ruins are highlighted and flanked by two pines. Due to their symbolic meaning, the pines also stress the ruin's ideological significance. De Vico himself attributed to the ruins the function of a stage set.[79] His design created a stage set for the 'new Rome' and conformed to the fascists' celebration of Roman antiquity and the Italian renaissance. In fact, the iconography of De Vico's design relates to design motifs of the Italian renaissance. The staging and incorporation of ruins into parks and gardens had precedents in renaissance gardens.[80] Furthermore, the *trivio*, three paths radiating outward from an open space, which De Vico used in his design in a playful manner, repeating it five times and thereby directing the visitors towards the staged ruins, was first employed in Rome in the urban context at the beginning of the sixteenth century under the popes Leo X (papacy 1513–1521) and Paul III (papacy 1534–1549). They were responsible for the construction of three straight streets radiating from the *piazza Sant'Angelo* and the *piazza del Popolo*. The *trivio* was subsequently used in laying out the *villa Montalto* in Rome and the *villa Aldobrandini* in Frascati. It became a design feature in French gardens of the seventeenth century where it was called 'patte d'oie', and in the early landscape garden where the paths often led up to staged ruins. Besides the urban context, this path structure has also been traced to the renaissance stage set in the *teatro Olimpico* in Vicenza, built in the years 1579–1584.[81]
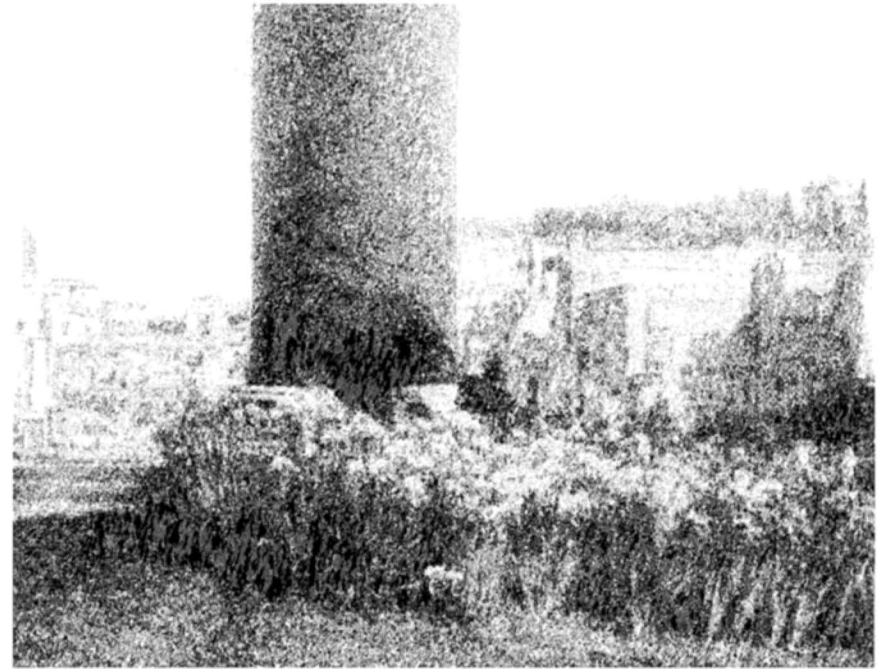
FIGURE 13. *Violet Iris at the Temple of Saturn (Giacomo Boni, 'Terra mater',* Nuova Antologia. Rivista di lettere, scienze ed arti, *45, Fasc. 918 (March 16), p. 207 [pp. 193–220]).*

Vergil's Flora in the Rustic Italian Garden

As Siegfried Blau's comment showed, the *flora virgiliana* was also used in less imposing surroundings, e.g. in private house gardens. Consisting partly of species of the Mediterranean macchia the *flora virgiliana* was especially useful for blending rural dwellings on the coast into the surrounding countryside. Thus, the landscape architect Maria Teresa Parpagliolo Shephard and the conservationist Edwin Cerio considered roses, pines, olive trees, holm oaks, myrtle, tulips, aloe, pistachios and arbutus amongst the appropriate plant species for the 'rustic Italian garden' to complement the 'Italian rural dwelling' on the coast.[82] In the intellectuals' and architects' transfigured, romantic imagination of a simple, rustic rural life, the rural dwellings on the coastline near Amalfi and especially on Capri, which housed an elitist and intellectual
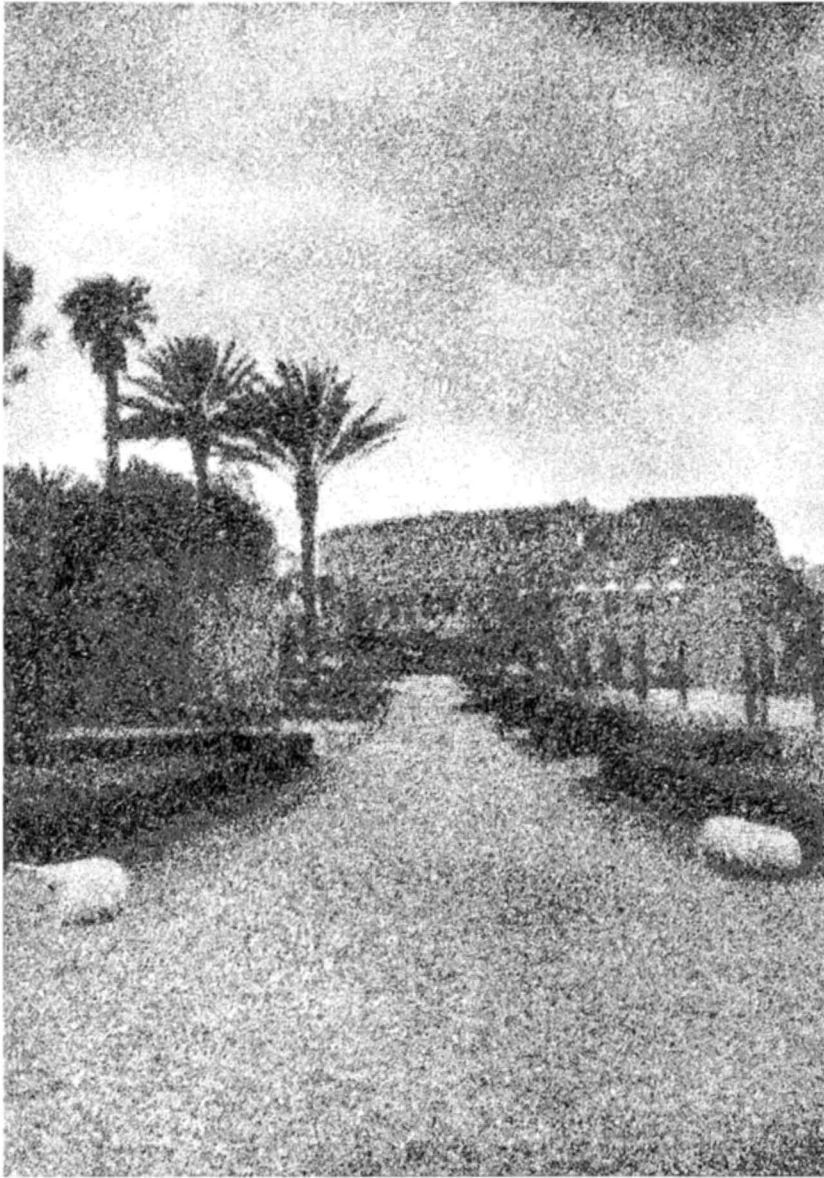
FIGURE 14. *The* Parco del Colle Oppio *with view of the Colosseum (N. C., 'Il parco del Colle Oppio',* Capitolium, *4, 3 (1928), p. 132 [pp. 130–138]).*
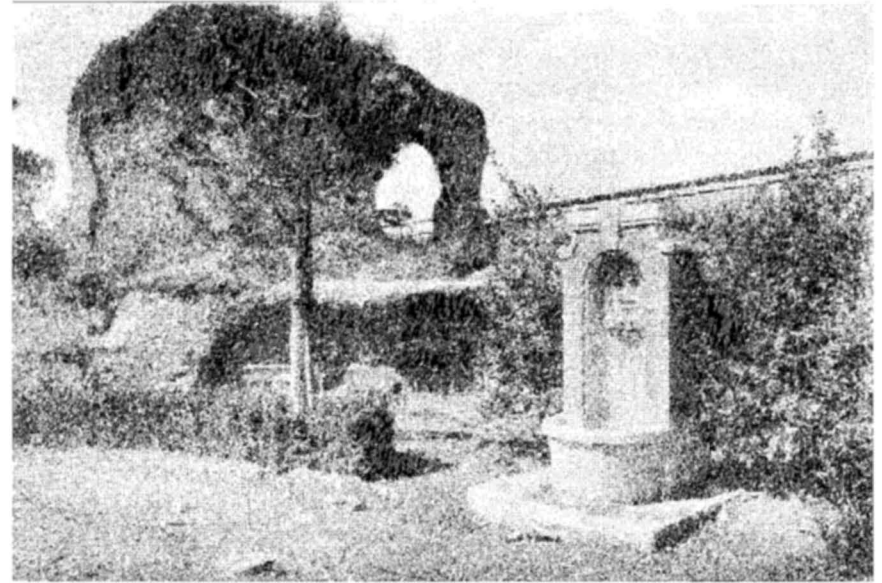
FIGURE 15. *A Fountain in the* Parco del Colle Oppio *with ruins as backdrop (N. C., 'Il parco del Colle Oppio',* Capitolium, *4, 3 (1928), p. 136 [pp. 130–138]).*

artists' colony, functioned as examples of the development of a national modern rural architecture.

The promotion of the so called *architettura rustica* or *architettura minima* describing a simple, functional and therefore 'modern' rural family dwelling based on traditional and regional construction methods had begun with a small exhibition organized by the architects Marcello Piacentini, Gustavo Giovannoni (1873–1947) and Vittorio Morpurgo in 1921. The proposed characteristics showed analogies with the 'Heimatstil' that was propagated by the Heimatschutzbewegung in Germany and influenced the German architectural production until 1918.[83] The Italian movement which influenced architects of all schools in Italy and abroad,[84] gained importance and was instrumentalized by the fascists when they propagated the 'return to the land' ('ritorno alla terra'). Various competitions for the development of a model for a rural house were carried out.[85] The Milan Triennale 1933 presented a model for the 'house of the head farmer' ('casa del conduttore di fattoria'). At the Triennale 1936 the architects Giuseppe Pagano (1896–1945) and Guarniero
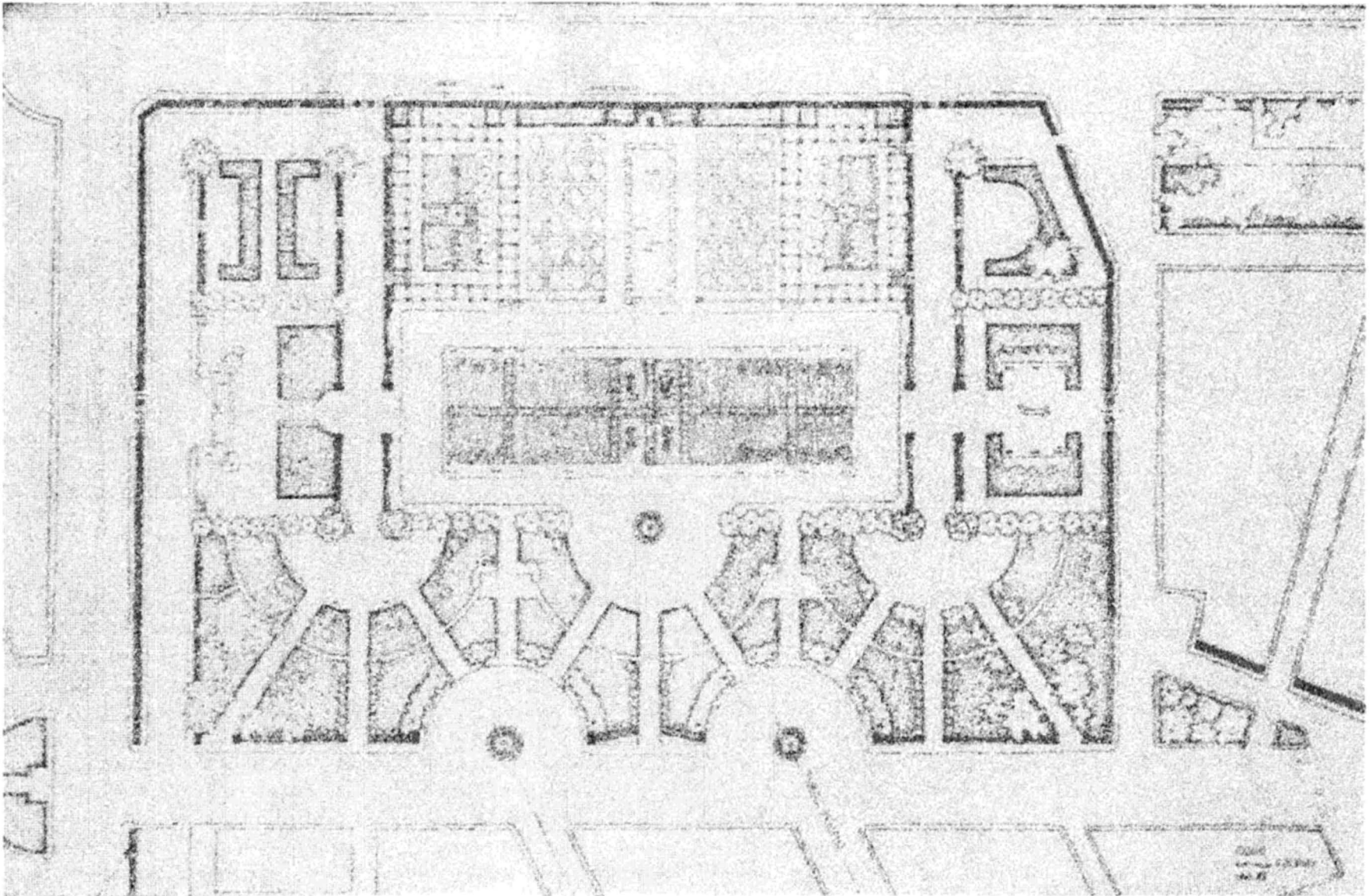
FIGURE 16. *Plan of the Park designed by Fabrizio de Vico, c. 1942 (Fabrizio de Vico, 'Progetto per l'installazione di un parco arboreo sull'area del Macao',* Capitolium, *17, 7 (1942), p. 209 (pp. 206–209)).*
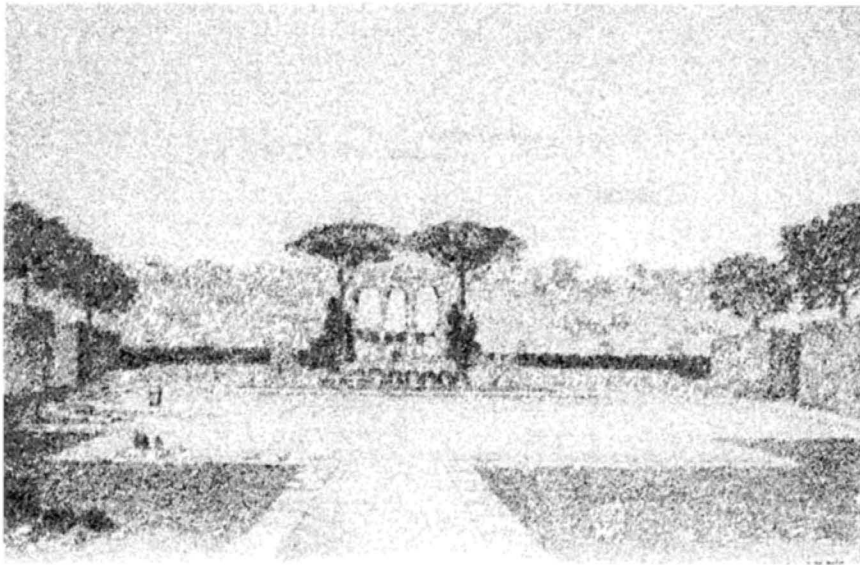
FIGURE 17. *Sketch for the central space in the park, showing the ruin flanked by pines and acting as a stage set (Fabrizio de Vico, 'Progetto per l'installazione di un parco arboreo sull'area del Macao',* Capitolium, *17, 7 (1942), p. 206 [pp. 206–209]).*

FIGURE 18. *Edwin Cerio's design for a small house and garden on the cliffs near the grotto of Matromania on Capri (Maria Teresa Parpagliolo, 'Giardini di Capri',* Domus, *3, 32 (1930), p. 60 [pp. 58–60, 81]).*

Daniel organized an exhibition on the rural architecture of the Mediterranean basin which also resulted in a book publication, *Architettura rurale italiana*. Two years later the geographer Renato Biasutti published the first in a series of books on rural architecture in Italy.[86]

At the same time as the *architettura rustica* was being politicized in the 1930s by the fascists, the Roman-born landscape architect Maria Teresa Parpagliolo Shephard was promoting the gardens of Capri in a series of articles as prototypes for the modern rustic Italian garden. Parpagliolo who had an affinity with Capri due to summer holidays spent on the island in her childhood and teenage years, attributed to the rustic gardens of Capri character traits that were considered typical of rustic Italian architecture: simplicity and authenticity i.e. the adaptation to the surrounding countryside and the use of traditional building types and local materials.[87] Like Edwin Cerio's house garden on Capri (figure 18) and the garden 'La Torre' designed by the architect Giovanni Battista Ceas (figure 19) the 'rustic Italian garden' was supposed to form a unity with the house and blend into the surrounding landscape using native plants such as pines, cypresses, laurel, arbutus, aleppo pines and holm oaks.[88] Traditional elements that were to be employed and which can also partly be discerned in the designs by Cerio and Ceas included rose, citrus, flower and vegetable gardens, pergolas covered with rambling roses and vines, orchards and olive groves. Besides stone benches, jugs, and fountains, indigenous flowering species belonged to the traditional ornamental features in Capri's gardens which Parpagliolo progagated to enhance their rustic aesthetic.

Developing these ideas further, Parpagliolo in the 1930s also promoted the 'future Italian picturesque nature garden' that would be differentiated regionally by the predominant use of a few selected indigenous tree species and matching plant associations typical of the region.[89] Thus, the concepts developed in Italy resembled William Robinson's ideas of the 'wild garden'[90] and especially the planting concepts put forth by the nationalist garden architect Willy Lange (1864–1941) in Germany in the first two decades of the
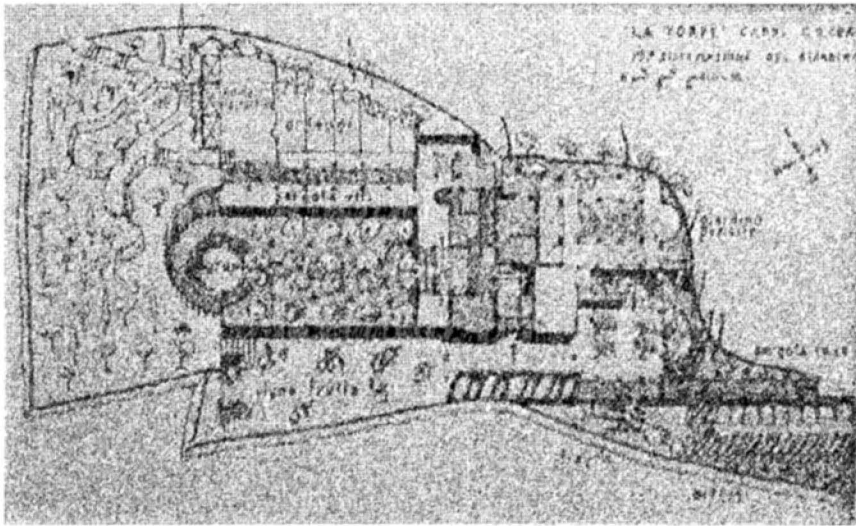
FIGURE 19. *Garden design by the architect G. B. Ceas for the villa La Torre on Capri (Maria Teresa Parpagliolo, 'Il giardino de "La Torre" disegnato dall'architetto G.B. Ceas',* Domus, *6, 72 (1933), p. 672 [pp. 672–673]).*

twentieth century. Linking his arguments for the superiority of indigenous species and the nature garden with his racial beliefs of the superiority of the German people, Lange led the way in the appropriation of garden culture by national socialist politics.[91] While the conceptualization of the 'rustic Italian garden' particularly reflected the fascist promotion of the *architettura rustica* in Italy, the analogies between Parpagliolo's picturesque Italian nature garden and Lange's nature garden also anticipated the garden cultural connection between the two totalitarian states that would become closer in the late 1930s. Not only the preference for the *flora virgiliana* in the gardens of Capri, but also the emphasis on traditional design features mark the 'rustic Italian garden' as a product of its time. Whereas luscious vegetation covering rigid architectural lines was one of the characteristics of vernacular gardens in the rural context, urban gardens were dominated by the idea of an architectural Italian garden. Here, the fascist ideologies of 'romanità and 'italianità, explicitly translated into a formal design that connected to the garden tradition of ancient Rome and the Italian renaissance. In fact, Bruno Braschi warned of the foreign origin of the 'new picturesque style' characterized by luscious and naturalistic plantings of flowering plants, herbaceous borders, floral stairways and bedding plants between paving stones which he considered a 'defect'.[92] The first highlight of the promotion of the architectural 'Italian garden' was in 1931, when the *Mostra del giardino italiano* (Exhibition of the Italian garden) finally opened in *Palazzo Vecchio* of Florence.

The *Mostra del giardino italiano* 1931 in Florence

Although the initial plans for an exhibition of the Italian garden had already been made by Ugo Ojetti (1871–1946),[93] the director of the RR Galleries of Florence, Nello Tarchiani (b. 1878), and Luigi Dami in 1912,[94] it was only under fascist rule that they were actually carried out. The exhibition's opening was planned for the *Natale di Roma* of 1931 but was postponed a few days until April 24, when it finally opened during the festivities of the 'Primavera fiorentina'.[95] It had been scheduled officially for 1931 by an agreement between the City of Florence and Mussolini, and it was prepared at the last moment in great haste.[96] As early as 1914 Luigi Dami had pointed towards the significance of an exhibition of the Italian garden for the revival of garden art in Italy.[97] Under the auspices of Mussolini the exhibition's objectives included regaining the primacy in garden art.[98] Manifold representations of different Italian gardens and landscapes from various epochs were on show in 52 of the *Palazzo Vecchio*'s rooms. Three-dimensional models representing Italian gardens from different epochs and regions in idealized form constituted a special attraction.[99] These 'teatrini' as they were called were arranged in chronological order and represented a fascist narrative of Italian garden history. In accordance with the fascist national story that commenced in ancient Rome the presentation of the 'teatrini' began with the 'garden of the Romans', standing for the origin of Italian garden art. The exhibition also included a model of the 'romantic garden' which due to the critique of the landscape garden caused discussions amongst the exhibition's curators. In the end it was included in the exhibition not only to complete the show but in order to enable comparison with the different versions of the Italian garden and thus exalt the significance and superiority of the 'Italian garden'.[100]

In order to revitalize contemporary garden design the exhibition was accompanied by two competitions for the design of a public urban park and a villa garden. The architecture journal *Domus*, that had been founded in 1928

with the objective of promoting holistic design concepts for the 'Italian house', the *casa all'italiana* that incorporated the garden,[101] announced a third competition for the design of a roof top garden. As with the other fields of artistic production it was hoped that the exhibition and the competitions would connect to the 'glorious past'.[102] In 1931 the cultural policies of the fascist regime had already been consolidated, and Mussolini himself often determined exhibitions' curators and competitions' jury members. Consequently the art critic Ugo Ojetti, an advocat of the traditionalist *Novecento* who had initiated the exhibition and was loyal to the government, seemed the suitable candidate to curate the exhibition and preside over the competition jury.

The competitions demanded that all design entries be 'typically Italian' and 'modern'. A closer definition of these attributes was not given. However, Ugo Ojetto described the 'Italian garden' in the exhibition catalogue as 'symmetric and architectonic', 'adapting to the architecture of the house', in which the dominance of man over nature was apparent in every detail.[103] A 'modern garden' – while fulfilling the modern day needs – had in Ojetti's view to be free from German and English influences.[104] The programmatic competition demands were supported by the explicit exclusion of landscape architects, botanists, gardeners, agronomists and other professionals who were not members of a fascist syndicate. Participation was reserved for architects organized in the *Sindacato nazionale architetti* and architecture students in an advanced stage in their studies.[105] The only training in garden design offered was within the architecture programs, so that the revival of garden art was mostly considered the architects' task, and gardens were more often than not designed in an architectonic fashion that adhered to the fascists' idea of the Italian garden.[106]

While showing regional differences, the competition entries for the villa garden adhered to the ideas of the 'Italian' and 'modern garden' put forth by Ojetti.[107] The official cultural policies of the regime which aimed at merging tradition with revolutionary developments[108] not only showed in the competition requirements demanding 'typically Italian' and 'modern' designs. They were also reflected in the decision to give two first prizes in the design competition for a public park. The architect Ferdinand Reggiori (1898–1976) from Milan received a prize for his 'more typically Italian' design, characterized by axes and a symmetrical layout of various design motifs from the Italian garden tradition (figure 20), and Alberto Cingria and
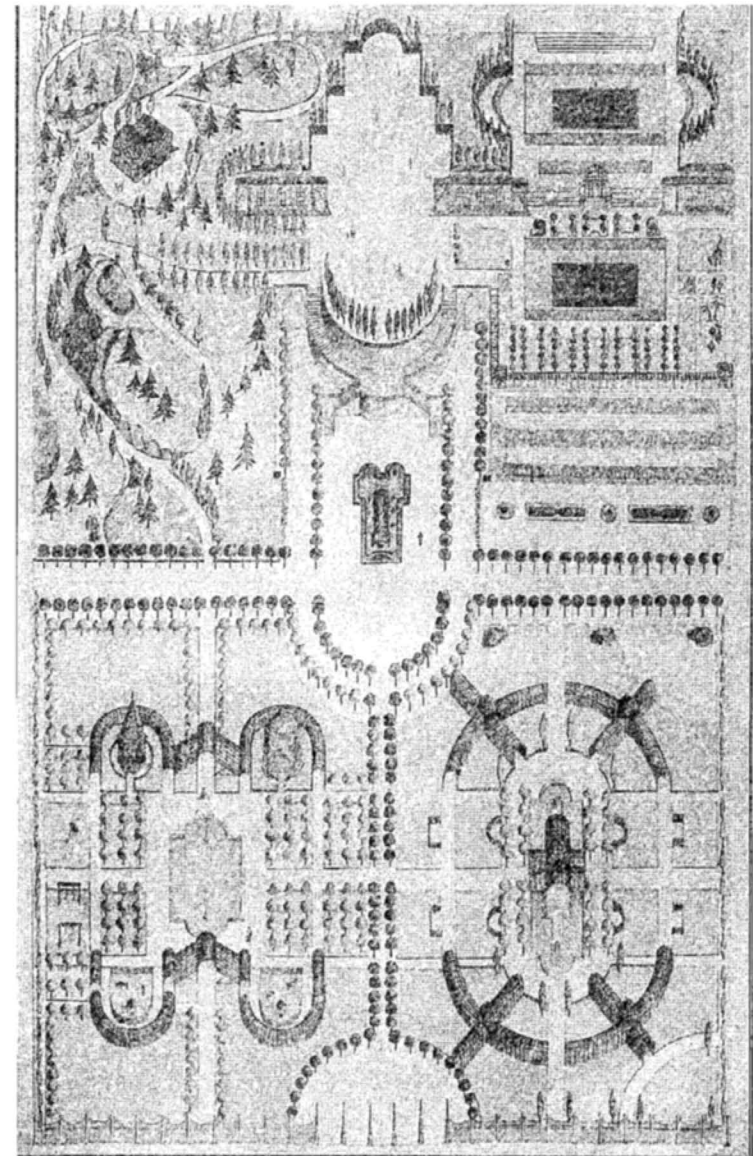
FIGURE 20. *Design for a public garden by the architect Ferdinando Reggiori, 1931 (Ugo Ojetti et al., 'Il concorso del giardino italiano a Firenze', Architettura e arti decorative, 7 (1931), p. 534 [pp. 533–546]).*

Giulio Minoletti (b. 1910), two architecture students from Milan, were awarded a prize for their 'more modern' park design, which was characterized by the absence of symmetry and axial structure (figure 21). Its pictorial representation characterized by geometric forms was slightly reminiscent of cubistic paintings.

Despite these 'modern' tendencies, attributed to the 'rationalist' architects, and the futurists' vicinity to fascism, avantgarde artists in Italy did not take up garden art. Although futurists such as Filippo Tomaso Marinetti (1876–1944) and Virgilio Marchi (1895–1960) were present at the first landscape conference promoting the protection of Italy's landscapes and 'natural beauties' in July 1922 on Capri, the futurists rejected any emotional relationship with nature and naturalistic representations. At the conference they heavily criticized the restoratative tendencies of the conservationists, whom they named 'passatisti'.[109] The futurists' approach towards nature is also seen in Fedele Azari's (1896–1930) manifest *The futurist flora and plastic equivalents of artificial odours* (*La flora futurista ed equivalenti plastici di odori artificiali*) of 1924 in which he not only contradicted art nouveau and similar styles with floral ornaments but also any romantic, emotionally grounded design in the decorative arts. He argued for the creation of artificial flowers in strong colours, dynamic forms and with intensive synthetic odours.[110] During the 1930s therefore, symmetries, axes and architectonic layouts attributed to the Italian garden tradition prevailed in garden design.

German Garden Culture as Example

The comparatively small number of participants at the design competition for an urban park – less than half the number of participants in the competition for a house garden design – was attributed by the art critic, writer and journalist Mario Tinti (1885–1937) to the difficulty of the design task.[111] Other reasons might have been that the task was bigger and also less familiar to the architects. In fact, despite Pasolini Ponti's declaration in 1915 that the public garden constituted 'a broad and monumental task of the modern architect',[112] not very many new parks had been created in Italian cities during the first two decades of the century before the fascists seized power. In the 1930s, however, interest in open space planning increased. Besides the new parks created in Rome, publications such as the Milan engineer Cesare Chiodi's (b. 1885) book
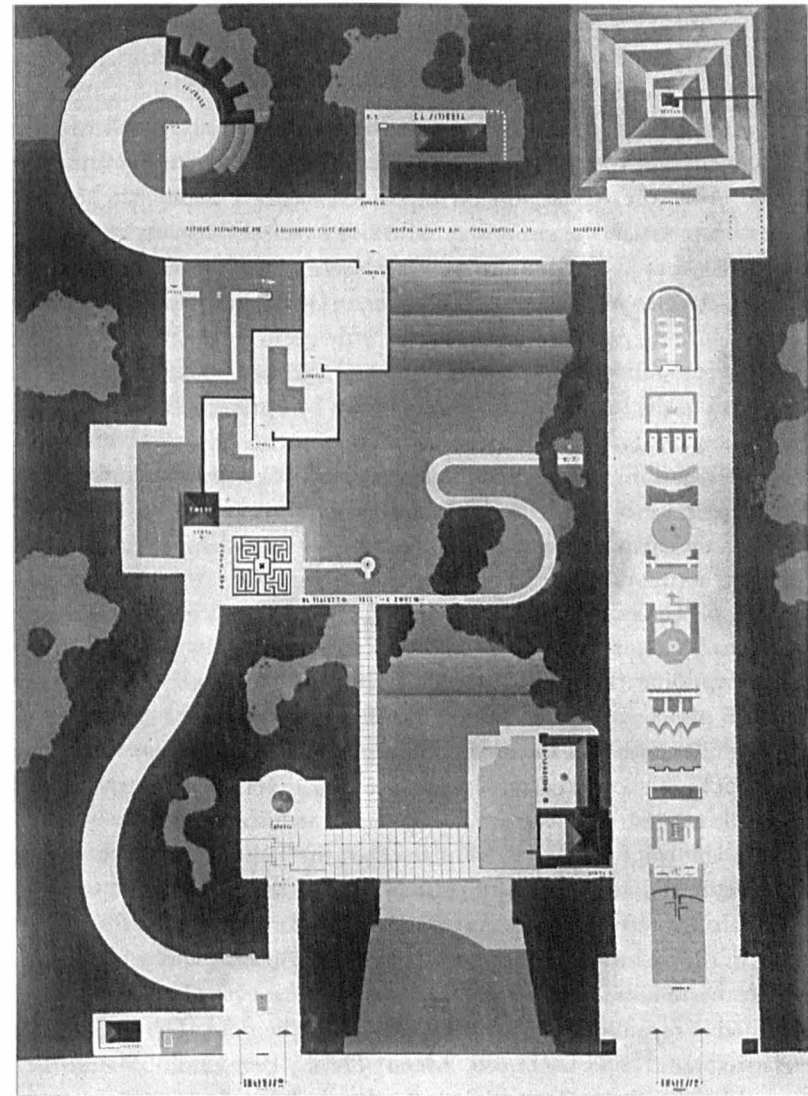
FIGURE 21. *Design for a public garden by the architecture students Alberto Cingria and Giulio Minoletti, 1931 (Ugo Ojetti et al., 'Il concorso del giardino italiano a Firenze', Architettura e arti decorative, 7 (1931), p. 535 [pp. 533–546]).*

on modern city planning, Domenico Filippone's book on 'The green zones in modern Italian town planning'[113] and various articles in the journal *Urbanistica* testified to the awakened interest in urban green open space. From 1937 onwards the authors in *Urbanistica* and *Domus* paid special attention to examples from Germany.[114] This development reflected the political situation. The closer ties between the two totalitarian states were the result of a secret police agreement in March 1936 to fight against antifascist and antinationalist activities. After the Italian foreign minister Galeazzo Ciano had signed the October protocols in the same year, Mussolini visited Germany in September 1937. Italy's formal declaration of membership in the anticomintern pact between Germany and Japan in November 1937 was followed by Hitler's visit to Italy in May 1938. Both countries not only grew closer at a political level, but they approached one another in their scientific and cultural pursuits. Despite setting the seal on these developments by signing a cultural agreement in November 1938, the countries' relationship at the cultural level vacillated. Its characterization as 'Kulturkampf' coincides with Mussolini's plans for the world exhibition: if Germany had demonstrated its power in the world of sports with the 1936 Berlin olympics, then Italy would demonstrate its cultural superiority at the world exhibition planned for 1942, therefore called the 'olympics of civilization' ('olimpiade delle civiltà'). Whereas the national socialists had looked towards the Italian example of how to force a whole country into line, Mussolini imitated national socialist policies after the declaration of the axis Berlin-Rome, maintaining, however, a competitive and vacillating relationship as far as cultural pursuits were concerned. The political closeness of the two states created a suitable climate for exchange in the field of garden culture and landscape architecture. In addition to artists, writers and architects, landscape architects were amongst the Italians who were supposed to tighten the ties and engage in cultural contacts between the states.

The Italian interest in park and open space planning in Germany led the director of the architecture journal *Domus*, Giò Ponti, to start a 'campaign for green' in the urban context in February 1937. The *Campagna di Domus per il verde* aimed at regaining Italy's lost supremacy in the field. The internationally experienced landscape architects Maria Teresa Parpagliolo Shephard and Pietro Porcinai were commissioned to provide the necessary articles. Parpagliolo's study trips to Germany, most probably attending the '14th Annual Conference of the German Academy for Town, Regional and National planning' 1935 in Munich and visiting municipal departments for parks and gardens in Hannover, Hamburg, Dresden, Frankfurt a. M., Mainz and Munich as well as German collegues such as Hermann Mattern (1902–1971), Otto Valentien (1897–1987) and Heinrich Wiepking-Jürgensmann in 1936 proved especially helpful for this task.[115] In their reports on various undertakings in the field of municipal open space planning in Germany Porcinai and Parpagliolo supported the nationalist propaganda of the campaign. Following the German examples that impressed the Italian planners and were considered more advanced, the latter argued that Italy should be brought 'to the top, as tradition teaches us, and in order to provide future generations with better living conditions and leave them with Italy's appearance a hundred times more beautiful'.[116] Though Parpagliolo acknowledged the racist, military and nationalist beliefs and ideas underlying the creation of allotment gardens by the national socialists, she referred to them uncritically and did not further reflect on the national socialists' 'landscape politics'.[117]

A month before the two states signed the cultural agreement in November 1938, a student group from the Institute for Garden Design at the University of Berlin, organized by the national socialist professor for garden design Hermann Friedrich Wiepking-Jürgensmann (1891–1973) and his assistants Gerhard Hinz (1904–1989) and Wiesner undertook an 18-day tour to Italy 'on the 'axis Berlin-Rome''.[118] In the summer of 1938, a few months before this German excursion to Italy, a small Italian delegation of the planning team for the World Exhibition had visited Germany. In August 1938 the landscape architects Maria Teresa Parpagliolo Shephard and Guido Roda (1892–1975) together with the president of the advisory board to the exhibition, Antonio Anfossi (b. 1874), traveled to the 12th International Congress of Horticulture in Berlin. Besides visiting a number of park and garden designs in this city by Hermann Mattern and Heinrich Wiepking-Jürgensmann such as the garden of the official national socialist guest house, the open-air theater and open space surrounding the Olympic stadium the Italian group studied the landscape planning for the German motorways as well as gardens and parks in Hannover. Federico Pinna Berchet, the technical director who was later to become administrative director of the World Exhibition, joined his colleagues for a visit to the national garden festival in Essen. All four Italian visitors commented on Germany's progressiveness in garden and landscape architecture that made this nation rank 'at the top of numerous nations, excluding perhaps the United States of America'.[119] The realization that Italy had to catch up with its

neighbouring nations, especially Germany, and the opinion that his young colleagues Roda and Parpagliolo were overrating their capabilities and infallibility led Anfossi to a daring proposal. He suggested involving German horticulturalists, gardeners and garden architects unofficially in the planning and construction process. Amongst the professionals Anfossi met during his trip to Germany were the professor for horticulture Erich Maurer (1884–1981), the garden director in Essen, Rudolf Korte (1878–1950), the general director of the tree nusery Ludwig Spät, Carl Kempkes (1881–1964) and the landscape architects Hermann Rothe (1883–1946) and Hermann Koenig (1883–1961). Due to a shortage of professionals and trained gardeners on the World Exhibition site, workers had already been called from other parts of Italy. Thus, Anfossi suggested inviting these German professionals to Rome as 'secret advisors',[120] a proposal that was most probably never carried out. The close but ambivalent and vacillating cultural relations between Italy and Germany are very clearly seen in these events. On the one hand it was deemed advantageous to visit Germany and learn from the German examples in open space planning and design. On the other hand the belief in Italy's cultural superiority dared not be jeopardized by officially calling on German experts for the planning and construction of the World Exhibition's parks and gardens. Such an import of knowhow and expertise would only have been possible in secret.

As these observations have shown, garden culture and design was to play an important role in the construction and demonstration of Italy's cultural superiority at the World Exhibition which Mussolini had planned for the twentieth annual celebration in 1942 of his march on Rome. The first garden exhibition 1931 in Florence was to be followed by another *mostra del giardino italiano* on the grounds of the World's Fair. In fact, the plans for the parks, gardens and the *mostra del giardino italiano* of the World Exhibition can be considered the second highlight in the promotion of the 'Italian garden' in the fascist period.

The Plans for the *Mostra del giardino italiano* at the World Exhibition

The World Exhibition that was to celebrate Italy's ancient civilization and present Italy's superiority in cultural pursuits was planned for a 420-hectare site south of the city centre on the new road axis that was to connect Rome to the sea. The architect and director of the *Servizio Architettura Parchi e Giardini*, Gaetano Minnucci (1896–1980), stated in 1941: 'the great art of the Italian garden [...] has found and will find in the exhibition a stimulus to take up its great path [...] The new Rome, [...] with the exhibition will offer not only refreshing shadow and water, areas for repose, but also a happy example, and perhaps the beginning of the rebirth of garden art [...] as it was practiced in antiquity'.[121]

The initial design for the exhibition grounds was drawn up under the direction of Marcello Piacentini by the architects Giuseppe Pagano, Luigi Piccinato, Ettore Rossi and Luigi Vietti in 1937, but it was altered by Piacentini. The final plan in 1938 showed an entirely symmetrical, axial structure (figure 22). The big lake in the south that initially had had an irregular form was turned into rectangular water basins with promenades and an open-air theatre. On a new, almost unprecedented scale this design was supposed to be reminiscent of the villas Borghese, Aldobrandini, d'Este as well as the parks of Caserta, Versailles and Nancy.[122] Although the big areas surrounding the exhibition site on the northern and southern sides were landscaped with sinuous paths and irregular groupings of trees, most park and garden exhibits were expected to convey the *italianità* by copying the design principles of Italian renaissance gardens. Piacentini, the state architect and chief architect of the exhibition, stated that green areas surrounding important buildings should correspond to the monumental architecture by formal geometric designs structured by plant trellises, alcoves and arches.[123] The plans of the 'commission for the study of the design of gardens for the exhibition grounds'[124] were presented to Mussolini in 1938 in a final report by Maria Teresa Parpagliolo, Alfio Susini and Guido Roda. Their report stated that 'the parks and gardens have to assume the great and splendid, typically roman character'. 'This green frame', the report continued, 'will circumscribe the buildings, open up views, provide the avenues with shadow [...] and will follow a harmonious vision of entirety, with a lot of *chiaroscuro* and lively colours' (Figure 23).[125]

The planned parks and gardens of the World's Fair also enclosed seven hectares which were set aside for the *mostra del giardino italiano* in the western part of the exhibition grounds. Already in 1931 the organizers of the *mostra del giardino italiano* had intended to represent gardens of the fifteenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in their real size in the Cascine, but due to

FIGURE 22. *Plan for the World Exhibition 'Esposizione Universale di Roma. Planimetria Generale', October 1939 (Maurizio Calvesi, Enrico Guidoni and Simonetta Lux (eds),* Urbanistica, architettura, arte e decorazione. E 42. Utopia e Scenario del Regime, *vol. 2 (Venice) 1987, p. 201.)*

controversies and the shortage of time this idea was not carried out.[126] At the World's Fair Italian garden art was finally to be presented not in the form of small garden models as in 1931, but as an exhibition garden. The garden was to be a showpiece of Italian garden art demonstrating its greatness and therefore underlining fascist Italy's claims to cultural leadership. In 1939 the Exhibition Committee commissioned Parpagliolo and her colleague, the architect Giuseppe Meccoli (b.1911), for the exhibition garden's design, that was supposed to suggest the renaissance of Italian culture and the Roman spirit (figure 24).

After their study trip to various historic Italian gardens they produced a design that turned out to be a collage of design elements found in different Italian renaissance and baroque gardens in their original extensions and proportions. Villa d'Este's stairways, fountains and *boschetti*, an amphitheatre resembling the one in the Boboli Gardens, the garden theatre of Villa Reale di Marlia, Villa Lante's basin, a staircase and water basin resembling those at the Casino of Villa Farnese in Caprarola, as well as scaled-down versions of the canals in Caserta and the centre piece of Padua's botanical garden, were all placed next to each other.[127] Although Parpagliolo and Meccoli anticipated the possible weaknesses of their design and therefore tried to maintain the original proportions of the various design elements and to adapt their position as best as possible to the existing site,[128] they did not succeed in conveying the impression of a unified whole. The basin copied from Villa Lante, the garden theatre resembling the one at Villa Marlia as well as the western and eastern parts of the garden seemed independent, unrelated garden 'rooms' placed next to each other more or less at random. The orthogonal axes structuring the garden had no eye-catchers at their beginning or end, as was originally intended by the designers for directing the visitor's view.[129] The plan for the *mostra del giardino italiano* demonstrates how Parpagliolo and Meccoli subordinated their design to the fascist demand for 'classicità dell'E 42' ('classical structure').[130] If the awards of the competition for a public park on occasion of the *mostra del giardino italiano* in 1931 revealed that up to that time neither the 'rationalist', 'modern' nor the 'traditional' character had gained unique support, the design for the World's Fair's exhibition garden clearly adhered to the neoclassicism that by the late 1930s was promoted by the fascists. In fact, the project description that Vittorio Cini (1885–1977) presented to Mussolini in June 1937 included the following statements concerning the 'style' and artistic production of the World's Fair: 'The Roman
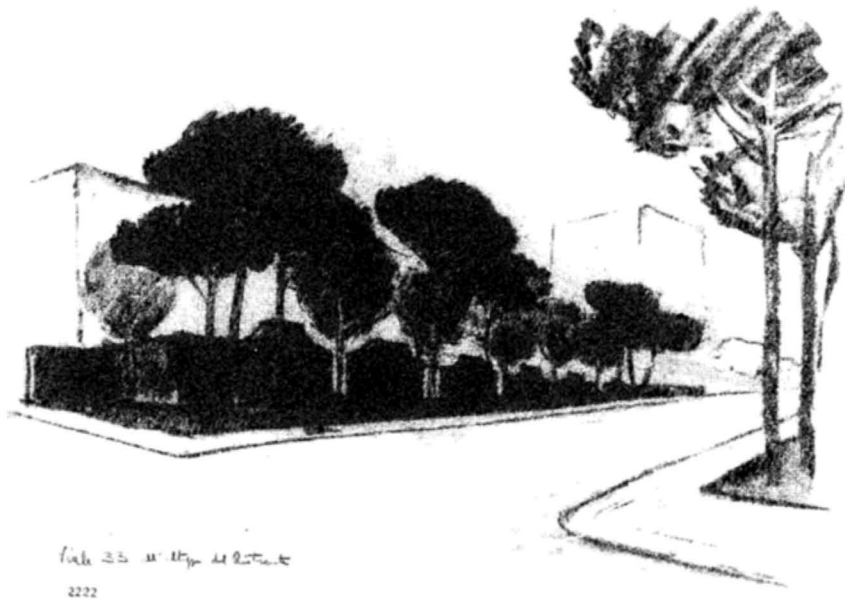
FIGURE 23. *'Avenue 33 at the height of the restaurant', attributed to Maria Teresa Parpagliolo Shephard (Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome, E'42, S 9–15).*

FIGURE 24. *Design for the exhibition garden of the* mostra del giardino italiano, *Maria Teresa Parpagliolo Shephard and Giuseppe Meccoli, 1939 (Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome, E'42, S 9–3).*

exhibition attempts to create the definite style of our epoch: the style of the year XX of the fascist era: the style "E 42". It will adhere to the criteria of greatness and monumentality. [...] The Italian artists will be given maximum freedom of initiative in the hopes, and more so, in the certainty that they will propose works that are worthy of the ideal climate of the *urbs*. They will have a chance, that will not repeat itself that quickly and certainly never again with a similar richness of variety, to express all their ingenuity, keeping away from the ephemeral modes like the generic internationalisms'.[131] In accordance with this program Parpagliolo and Meccoli closed their design description for the exhibition garden with the statement that only the knowledge of the best examples of Italian garden art and the necessary botanical knowhow could create 'a perfect ensemble, that is desired and that can honour the E 42'.[132] However, owing to increasing financial difficulties in late 1939 the design was never carried out.

Although Antonio Cederna has pointed out that the fascists' measures could not prevent the destruction of green open space in Rome and that after 20 years of fascist dictatorship Roman parks only covered a small area in comparison to other European cities,[133] the examples in this article show that the attention towards garden culture increased during the fascist period. Luigi Dami's demand of 1914 for a revival and evolution of the Italian garden tradition, which was based on the cultural nationalism that developed especially after the Italian unification,[134] was readily and literally taken up by the fascists and instrumentalized for their own purposes. This revived interest in garden culture resulted in various visual and physical expressions and in a series of events, initiatives, programs and plans on different levels. They

reached from the proposed competition for the cultivation of a black 'flower E42' celebrating the fascist blackshirts to the drawing-up of a park system in the Roman land use plan of 1931. The *mostra del giardino italiano* 1931 and the plans for the parks and gardens of the World Exhibition planned for 1942 marked two high points in the fascist promotion of a specifically 'Italian' garden culture adhering to the fascist ideologies of 'romanità' and 'italianità'. It should also be mentioned, however, that the increased interest and the politicization of garden culture also showed itself in smaller events such as the department for tourism's invitation to the *Associazione Italo Americana* to organize a tour to gardens of the past four centuries[135] and the first national garden conference organized by the *Istituto Fascista di Tecnica e Propaganda Agraria* in 1937. This venue in Varese brought together eight prominent national architects, horticulturalists and officials who discussed topics such as training facilities in the field of garden architecture and horticulture and the legislation for the conservation and protection of gardens. It was an occasion for Luigi Parpagliolo to repeat his demand that gardens and parks worthy of protection should be listed, a task that subsequently underwent further scrutiny by the *Comitato direttivo della Sezione di fioricultura e giardinaggio dell'Istituto fascista di Tecnica e Propaganda Agraria* (Directing Committee of the Garden and Horticulture Division of the Fascist Institute for Agrarian Technique and Propaganda).[136] Furthermore, the 1939 laws decreed under the fascist regime for the conservation and protection of cultural heritage and natural beauties paid attention to garden cultural heritage. Law no. 1497 also introduced the first planning instrument for nature protection, the *piano territoriale paesistico*, a regional land-use plan for areas to be protected. In this way urban planners not only occupied themselves with open space planning, but they also became involved in the protection of natural beauty. The drawing-up of these plans was, however, seldomely executed due to insufficient training of the superintendants and officials in charge.[137]

Metaphorically one could argue that the fascists not only fought their 'battle of flowers' but also created a 'green' stage set for their totalitarian politics.

German Historical Institute,
Washington, D.C.

NOTES

1. 'the battle of flowers', N. D. R., 'Decorazioni floreali (A proposito del concorso del balcone fiorito indetto dall'O.N.D.)', *Capitolium*, 4, 3, 1928, pp. 149–150.
2. Dianne Harris, 'The Postmodernization of Landscape. A Critical Historiography', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 58, 3, 1999, p. 437 (pp. 434–443).
3. On the historiography of Italian gardens from about 1450 to 1750 see Mirka Benes, 'Recent Developments and Perspectives in the Historiography of Italian Gardens', in Michel Conan (ed.), *Perspectives of Garden Histories*, Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture XXI (Washington, D.C. 1999), pp. 37–76. In the second half of the 1980s the first articles dealing with two of the most imposing events which are of importance for garden historiography in the fascist period appeared in Italy. Vincenzo Cazzato has dealt with the first national garden exhibition 1931 in Florence in a number of articles beginning in 1986. Cf. e.g. Vincenzo Cazzato, 'I giardini del desiderio. La Mostra del giardino italiano (Florence 1931)', in Alessandro Vezzosi (ed.), *Il giardino romantico* (Florence 1986), pp. 80–88 and Vincenzo Cazzato, 'Firenze 1931: La consacrazione del "primato italiano" nell'arte dei giardini,' in Alessandro Tagliolini and Massimo Venturi Ferriolo, *Il giardino. Idea natura realtà*, Kepos Quaderni 1 (Milan 1987), pp. 77–108. In 1988 Massimo de Vico Fallani published a book assembling information and archival sources on the parks and gardens of EUR: Massimo de Vico Fallani, *Parchi e giardini dell'EUR. Genesi e sviluppo delle aree verdi dell'E42* (Rome 1988). The same author has published on the works of the architect Raffaele de Vico who was responsible for the design of numerous public parks in Rome during the fascist dictatorship: Massimo de Vico Fallani, *Raffaele de Vico e i giardini di Roma* (Florence 1985). Other early works on some aspects of garden culture in fascist Italy include Virgilio Vercelloni, 'Attorno alla banalità dell'attenzione italiana al giardino negli anni trenta', in Alessandro Tagliolini (ed.), *Il giardino europeo del novecento 1900–1940* (Florence 1993), pp. 207–219 and Mariachiara Pozzana, 'Il giardino e il suo doppio: la ricerca del giardino all'italiana,' in Francesco Nuvolari, *Il giardino storico all'italiana* (Milan 1992), pp. 86–90. Furthermore the works by Franco Migliorini (Franco Migliorini, *Verde urbano. Parchi, giardini, paesaggio urbano: lo spazio aperto nella costruzione della città moderna* [Milan], 1989) and Vincenzo Fontana, (Vincenzo Fontana, *Profilo di architettura italiana del Novecento*, [Venice], 1999) briefly mention some aspects of this time period. In 2001 a brief overview of some aspects of open space planning in the early twentieth century was published in Antonio Longo et al., *Spazi aperti – Offene Räume. Freiraumplanung in Italien und Deutschland*, Dortmunder Beiträge zur Raumplanung 103 (Dortmund 2001). However, with the exception of Vincenzo Cazzato's contributions and Massimo de Vico Fallani's work making accessible some of the relevant sources, a more thorough investigation into the subject matter has only been attempted in recent years. Most recently, in 2004, the work by Claudia Lazzaro about 'Politicizing a National Garden Tradition: The Italianness of the Italian Garden' was published in the book on the 'History and Modernity in the Visual Culture of Fascist Italy' which she coedited with Roger J. Crum. In *Maria Teresa Parpagliolo Shephard (1903–1974). Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklung der Gartenkultur in Italien*, (Weimar: VDG-Verlag 2004), the author of this article deals with some aspects of garden culture during the fascist period in chapters one and two. Some aspects have also been dealt with in Sonja Dümpelmann, '"The garden is a national amenity". Zur Gartenkultur unter faschistischer Herrschaft in Italien', in Uwe Schneider and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahm (eds), *Gegen den Strom. Gert Gröning zum 60. Geburtstag*, Beiträge zur räumlichen Planung, Schriftenreihe des Fachbereichs Landschaftsarchitektur und Umweltentwicklung der Universität Hannover, Band 76, (Hannover, 2004), 93–110 and in Sonja Dümpelmann, 'Maria Teresa Parpagliolo Shephard (1903–74): Her Development as a Landscape Architect between Tradition and Modernism,' *Garden History*, 30, 1 (2002), pp. 49–73.
4. Cf. for example Luigi Dami, 'L'arte italiana dei giardini', *Rivista mensile del Touring Club italiano*, XX (1914), pp. 553–559 (p. 559); Luigi Dami, *Il nostro giardino* (Florence 1923), p. 48; and Maria Pasolini Ponti, *Il giardino italiano* (Rome: Ermanno Loescher & Co. 1915), pp. 21, 25–6.
5. Cf. e.g. Margherita Azzi Visentini, 'Riflessioni sul giardino paesaggistico in Italia tra settecento e ottocento,' in Pier Fausto Bagatti Valsecchi and Andreas Kipar, *Il giardino paesaggistico tra settecento e ottocento in Italia e Germania*, Kepos Quaderni 8 (Milan 1996), pp. 37–38 (29–41).
6. Cf. Vincenzo Cazzato, 'The Restoration of Italian Gardens in the Early Nineteenth Century', in Marcello Fantoni, Heidi Flores, John Pfordresher (eds), *Cecil Pinsent and his gardens in Tuscany* (Florence: Edifir Edizioni Firenze 1996), p. 99 (pp. 91–117).
7. Tomaso Buzzi, 'L'architetto di giardini', *Domus*, I (1928), p. 32 (pp. 32–4).
8. Bruno Braschi, 'Giardini italiani moderni', *I Giardini*, LVVIX (1933), p. 237 (pp. 237–8).
9. Cf. e.g. Jakob C. Burckhardt, *Geschichte der Renaissance in Italien* (Stuttgart 1912); Cornelius Gurlitt, *Geschichte des Barockstiles* (Stuttgart 1887); W. P. Tuckermann, *Die Gartenkunst der Italienischen Renaissance-Zeit* (Berlin 1884); Charles A. Platt, *Italian Gardens* (New York: Harper & Bros 1894); Edith Wharton, *Italian Villas and their Gardens* (New York: Da Capo 1904); Charles Latham and E. March Philipps, *The Gardens of Italy* (London: Offices of Country Life and George Newnes 1905); Inigo H. Triggs, *The Art of Garden Design in Italy* (London: Longmans & Co. 1906); George

S. Elgood, *Italian Gardens* (London: Longmans & Co. 1907); George Sitwell, *An Essay on the Making of Gardens* (London: John Murray 1909); Aubrey Le Blond, *The Old Gardens of Italy* (London: John Lane 1912); Julia Cartwright, *Italian Gardens of the Renaissance* (London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1914); Peter Behrens, 'Von italienischen Gärten', *Die Gartenschönheit*, III, (1922), pp. 250–2; G. Gromort, *Jardins d'Italie* (Paris: A. Vincent 1923); and Geoffrey A. Jellicoe and John C. Shepherd, *Italian Gardens of the Renaissance* (London: Ernest Benn 1925).

10. Cf. Edith Wharton, *Italian Villas and their Gardens* (New York: Da Capo 1904), pp. 5–13 and Maria Pasolini Ponti, *Il giardino italiano* (Rome: Ermanno Loescher & Co. 1915), pp. 10–15.
11. Luigi Dami, *Il nostro giardino* (Florence 1923); Luigi Dami, *Il giardino italiano* (Milan 1924).
12. Cf. Luigi Dami, *Il giardino italiano* (Milan 1924), p. 29.
13. Cf. e.g. Marie Luise Gothein, *Geschichte der Gartenkunst*, 1, Band (Jena 1914), p. 264.
14. Cf. Tomaso Buzzi, 'Alcune recenti architetture da giardino costruite nel parco della Villa Bernocchi a Stresa dall'architetto Alessandro Minali,' *Domus*, 2, 21 (1929), p. 15 (pp. 15–20); Ugo Ojetti et al., *La Mostra del giardino italiano* (Florence 1931), p. 23; Luigi Dami, *Il giardino italiano* (Milan 1924), p. 13; Maria Teresa Parpagliolo, Luigi Meccoli, 'Relazione sul viaggio di studio per la mostra del giardino italiano nell'Esposizione Universale di Roma effettuato dagli Architetti Parpagliolo e Meccoli del Servizio Architettura Parchi e Giardini dell'esposizione,' in Massimo de Vico Fallani, *Parchi e Giardini dell'EUR* (Rome 1988), p. 235 (pp. 233–241).
15. See Luigi Dami, *Il nostro giardino* (Florence 1923), p. 100 and Ermanno Biagini, 'La Mostra del giardino italiano a Firenze,' *Le vie d'Italia e dell'America Latina. Rivista mensile del Touring Club Italiano*, 11 (1931), p. 645 (pp. 642–651).
16. Cf. Luigi Dami, 'L'arte italiana dei giardini', *Rivista mensile del Touring Club italiano*, 20, 8 (1914), p. 559 (pp. 553–559); Ermanno Biagini, 'La Mostra del giardino italiano a Firenze,' *Le vie d'Italia e dell'America Latina. Revista mensile del Touring Club Italiano*, 11 (1931), p. 645 (pp. 642–651); Gherardo Bosio, 'Il concorso di Firenze per un giardino privato moderno all'italiana', *Domus*, 4, 40 (1930), p. 24 (pp. 22–27, 84); Pietro Porcinai, 'Giardini privati', *Domus*, 10, 118 (1937), p. 31 (pp. 30–37).
17. Cf. Luigi Parpagliolo, *La difesa delle bellezze naturali d'Italia* (Rome 1923), pp. 201–203.
18. Cf. Luigi Parpagliolo, 'La protezione del paesaggio', *Fanfulla della Domenica*, 27, 36/37 (1905), p. 13.
19. Cf. James Sievert, *The Origins of Nature Conservation in Italy* (Bern: Peter Lang 2000).
20. Cf. James Sievert, *The Origins of Nature Conservation in Italy* (Bern: Peter Lang 2000), p. 199.
21. Cf. Alessandro Tagliolini, *Storia del giardino italiano* (Florence 1991), p. 24.
22. 'Bisogna anche preoccuparsi di dare alla Città nuovi parchi, giardini, bagni, palestre, per fare circolare ancora, dentro i quartieri affollati, quel-l'aria e quella luce che già furono vanto delle purtroppo supresse ville della Roma del Rinascimento. Aria e luce: condizioni fondamentali ed imprescindibili di salute. Cadono sotto il piccone demolitore e risanatore gli aggregati di casupole, i tuguri che infestano i vecchi quartieri, belle case ampie, luminose, igieniche sorgono per gli umili che ne sono stati sempre privi e d'intorno verdeggiano i parchi e i giardini per la gioia dei bimbi e delle mamme, per il riposo tranquillo dei vecchi' Mussolini cit. in T. Agostini, 'Alberi e fiori per il popolo di Roma', *Capitolium*, 10, 4 (1934), p. 175 (pp. 175–190).
23. Governatorato di Roma, *Piano regolatore di Roma 1931, anno IX* (Milan, Rome: Treves-Treccani-Tumminelli 1931).
24. Cf. Marcello Piacentini, 'La grande Roma', *Capitolium*, 7, (1925), pp. 413–420; Luigi Piccinato, 'Zone verdi ed edilizia nella città di Rome', *Atti del II Congresso Nazionale di Studi Romani*, vol. II (Rome: Paolo Cremonese-Editore 1931), pp. 565–569; Luigi Piccinato, 'Le zone verdi nel nuovo piano regolatore di Roma,' *Capitolium*, 5 (1931), pp. 234–242.
25. Cf. Marcello Piacentini, *Sulla conservazione della bellezza di Roma e sullo sviluppo della città moderna* (Rome: Stabilimento Tipografico "Aternum" 1916), pp. 26–29; Mara De Benedetti, Attilio Pracchi, *Antologia dell'architettura moderna. Testi, manifesti, utopie* (Bologna 1988), pp. 139–140.
26. Cf. Massimo de Vico Fallani, *Raffaele de Vico e i giardini di Roma* (Florence, 1985).
27. Bruno Braschi, 'Parchi e giardini pubblici del Governatorato nell'anno VIII', *Capitolium*, 7, 3 (1931), p. 109 (pp. 107–116).
28. Cf. Servizio Giardini del Comune di Roma 1957, *I giardini di Roma* (Rome 1957), pp. 49, 51, 53; 'Un'antica villa romana restituita al patrimonio pubblico dei giardini', *Capitolium* 7, 11 (1931), p. 577 (pp. 577–580); Vincenzo Cazzato, 'The Restoration of Italian Gardens in the Early Nineteenth Century' in Marcello Fantoni, Heidi Flores, John Pfordresher, *Cecil Pinsent and his gardens in Tuscany* (Florence: Edifir Edizioni Firenze 1996), p. 99 (pp. 91–117).
29. Cf. Bruno Braschi, 'Parchi e giardini pubblici del Governatorato nell'anno VIII', *Capitolium*, 7, 3 (1931), p. 116 (pp. 107–116).
30. Eugenio Marignani, 'Un giardino pubblico sull'Aventino', *Capitolium*, 8, 5 (1932), p. 231 (pp. 224–231).
31. Cf. e.g. Maria Teresa Parpagliolo, 'Del disegno del giardino. I. Introduzione', *Domus*, 5, 53 (1932), p. 290 (pp. 290–291); Pietro Porcinai, 'Giardini privati', *Domus*, 10, 118 (1937), p. 31 (pp. 30–37); Tomaso Buzzi, 'L'architetto di giardini', *Domus*, 1, 4 (1928), p. 32 (pp. 32–34); Luigi Piccinato, 'Due disegni di nuovi giardini all'italiana', *Domus*, 1, 3 (1928), 38–39.
32. Cf. e.g. Giulio Tonti, 'Ancora sulla deficienza di giardinieri', *Il giardino fiorito. Rivista mensile della società italiana "Amici dei Fiori"*, 11, 124 (1941), pp. 81–82.
33. Cf. Maria Teresa Parpagliolo, 'Orticultori, giardinieri e pubblico', *Domus*, 5, 59 (1932), p. 694.

34. The founding of the school coincided with the reorganization of the municipal *Direzione Giardini*. Due to Mussolini's 'green politics' the structure of the *Direzione Giardini* had already been reorganized in 1924. It finally became an autonomous entity in 1927.
35. Cf. Giorgio Gabrielli, 'La scuola professionale giardinieri', *Capitolium*, 11, 7 (1935), pp. 355–362; Massimo de Vico Fallani, *Raffaele de Vico e i giardini di Roma* (Florence 1985), pp. 19–20. For more details see Sonja Dümpelmann, Maria Teresa Parpagliolo Shephard (1903–1974). Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklung der Gartenkultur in Italien im 20. Jahrhundert (Weimar: VGD-Verlag 2004), pp. 319–321.
36. Cf. Giorgio Gabrielli, 'La scuola professionale giardinieri', *Capitolium*, 11, 7 (1935), p. 357 (pp. 355–362).
37. Cf. Ferdinando Reggiori, 'Grandezza del giardino italiano. Il giardino italiano come espressione architettonica', *I Giardini*, 83, 7 (1937), p. 122 (pp. 121–124); Enrico Ratti, 'Giardini e architettura moderna. Relazione svolta al I° Convegno nazionale del giardino a Varese', *Case d'oggi*, 4, (1938), pp. 31–32, 39; Ambrogio Annoni, 'Il problema del verde e dei giardini della città di Milano', in Istituto Fascista di tecnica e Propaganda Agraria (ed.), *Per la difesa del giardino. Relazioni svolte al Primo Convegno Nazionale del Giardino*, Varese, 15. Settembre 1937-XV (Rome 1937), p. 87 (pp. 79–88).
38. Enrico Ratti, 'Giardini e architettura moderna', in Istituto Fascista di Tecnica e Propaganda Agraria (ed.) *Per la difesa del giardino. Relazioni svolte al Primo Convegno Nazionale del Giardino*, Varese, 15. Settembre 1937-XV (Rome 1937), p. 50 (pp. 41–51).
39. Cf. 'Come avviene il cambiamento di domicilio degli alberi', *Capitolium*, 14, 4 (1939), p. 338 (pp. 338–342).
40. '[...] da qualche tempo assistiamo ad un certo risveglio di amore per queste particolari bellezze del creato e si tende a diffondere nuovamente, anche nel popolo, questo culto, per la natura, per i fiori e per le piante. [...] si tenta ricondurre il popolo al culto delle bellezze di Flora [...]' Pietro Porcinai, 'Mostre del giardino', *Domus*, 15, 173 (1942), pp. 184, 187 (pp. 184–190).
41. Cf. Gert Gröning and Joachim Wolschke Bulmahn, *Die Liebe zur Landschaft. Teil III: Der Drang nach Osten*, Arbeiten zur sozialwissenschaftlich orientierten Freiraumplanung 9 (Munich 1987), p. 90.
42. Cf. Luigi Savi, 'Giardini di recente costruzione. Mussolinia di Sardegna', *Il giardino fiorito. Rivista mensile della società italiana "Amici dei Fiori"*, 9, 98 (1939), 55–56.
43. Cf. N. D. R., 'Decorazioni floreali (A proposito del concorso del balcone fiorito indetto dall'O.N.D.)', *Capitolium*, 4, 3, 1928, p. 150 (pp. 149–150).
44. Cf. *Il giardino fiorito. Rivista mensile della Società italiana 'Amici dei Fiori'*, 3, 4 (1933), p. 61; *Il giardino fiorito. Rivista mensile della Società italiana 'Amici dei Fiori'*, 9, 98 (1939), p. 60.
45. Cf. 'Roma fiorita', *Il giardino fiorito. Rivista mensile della società italiana "Amici dei Fiori"*, 8, 94 (1938), p. 233 (pp. 232–233).
46. Cf. 'La casa rurale fiorita', *Il giardino fiorito. Rivista mensile della società italiana "Amici dei Fiori"*, 4, 5 (1934), p. 85; 'I soggiorni fioriti', *Il giardino fiorito. Rivista mensile della società italiana "Amici dei Fiori"*, 5, 2 (1935), pp. 34–35; Eva Mameli Calvino, 'Fiori per l'abbellimento delle stazioni', *Il giardino fiorito. Rivista mensile della società italiana "Amici dei Fiori"*, 1, 11 (1931), 200–202.
47. M. A. Loschi, 'Decorazioni floreali (A proposito del concorso del balcone fiorito indetto dall'O.N.D.)', *Capitolium*, 4, 3 (1928), pp. 151–153, 151.
48. Cf. Gustavo Vagliasindi, 'L'industria dei fiori nella Riviera Ligure', *Nuova Antologia. Rivista di lettere, scienze ed arti*, 44, 908 (1909), pp. 557–568.
49. Cf. letter from Porcinai to Foerster, 22.9.1940. Nachlaß Foerster, Kasten 5, Mappe 165a. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – preußischer Kulturbesitz.
50. Maria Teresa Parpagliolo, 'Ancora sui fiori annuali', *Domus*, 5, 51 (1932), p. 178 (pp. 177–178) and Maria Teresa Parpagliolo, 'Orticultori, giardinieri e pubblico', *Domus*, 5, 59 (1932), p. 694.
51. Cf. *Il giardino fiorito. Rivista mensile della Società italiana 'Amici dei Fiori'*, 9, 98 (1939), pp. 60–61.
52. Cf. G. G., 'La IV Biennale di Floricoltura a San Remo', *Natura*, 11, 4 (1938), pp. 9–12.
53. Cf. Archivio Centrale dello Stato, E'42, busta 866, fasc. 7609. 'E 42' was the abbreviation for 'Esposizione Universale 1942'.
54. Cf. Maria Teresa Parpagliolo, 'Tulipani nuovi', *Domus*, 8, 92 (1935), p. 51.
55. Cf. 'Gli orti di guerra', *Capitolium*, 16, 11 (1941), pp. 365–367.
56. Marina Magnani Cianetti, 'L'uso dei materiali costruttivi nella realizzazione delle opere per l'E 42' in Maurizio Calvesi, Enrico Guidoni and Simonetta Lux, *Urbanistica, architettura, arte e decorazione. E 42. Utopia e Scenario del Regime*, vol. II, (Venice 1987), pp. 168–175.
57. T. Agostini, 'Alberi e fiori per il popolo di Roma', *Capitolium*, 10, 4 (1934), pp. 175–190.
58. Cf. Leonella de Santis, *Gli alberi di Roma. Una paseeggiata nel verde urbano di ieri e di oggi* (Rome 1997), pp. 24, 33.
59. Christopher Tunnard, 'Landscape Design at the Paris International Congress. What other countries are doing', *Landscape and Garden*, 4, 2 (1937), p. 82 (pp. 78–83).
60. Carlo Carrà cited in Massimo Carrà, 'Leben und Werk von Carrà', in *Carlo Carrà – Retrospektive (1987). Katalog zur Ausstellung in der Staatlichen Kunsthalle Baden-Baden 4.10.–6.12.1987* (Milan 1987), p. 80 (pp. 69–87).
61. Bruno Braschi, 'Parchi e giardini pubblici del Governatorato nell'anno VIII', *Capitolium*, 7, 3 (1931), p. 114 (pp. 107–116).
62. Cf. Sigfried Blau, 'Hausgärten in Rom', *Die Gartenkunst*, 50 (1937), p. 57 (pp. 55–57).
63. Cf. Benjamin George Martin, 'Celebrating the Nation's Poets' in Claudia Lazzaro and Roger J. Crum, *Donatello among the Blackshirts. History and*

Modernity in the Visual Culture of Fascist Italy (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press 2005), p. 189 (pp. 187–202).

64. Dario A. Franchini, 'Il Bosco Virgiliano', in Dario A. Franchini, Maria Giovanna Rossi and Bruno Agosto (eds), *Bosco virgiliano: un parco-giardino alla porta di casa: guida alla storia dei giardini, alla loro conduzione, ai loro abitanti vegetali e qualche animale* (Mantova 1983), pp. 39–40 (pp. 37–41).
65. Giuseppe Guerra, 'Il bosco virgiliano a Mantova', *La cultura moderna. Natura ed Arte*, LI, 6 (1942), p. 156 (pp. 153–158).
66. Benjamin George Martin, 'Celebrating the Nation's Poets', in Claudia Lazzaro and Roger J. Crum (eds), *Donatello among the Blackshirts. History and Modernity in the Visual Culture of Fascist Italy* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press 2005), p. 192 (pp. 187–202).
67. Kerstin Appelshäuser, *Die öffentliche Grünanlage im Städtebau Napoleons in Italien als politische Aussage* (Frankfurt am Main: Pollinger Schnelldruck 1994), pp. 57–67.
68. Bruno Braschi, 'Parchi e giardini pubblici del Governatorato nell'anno VIII', *Capitolium*, 7, 3 (1931), p. 108 (pp. 107–116).
69. A. de Vito Tommasi, 'Per la decorazione floreale de la casa: "L'odorata ginestra"', *La Casa Bella*, 1, 7 (1928), pp. 22–23.
70. Marie v. Bunsen, 'Italienische Blumeneindrücke', *Gartenschönheit*, 6, (1925), pp. 90–91.
71. Massimo de Vico Fallani, *I parchi archeologici di Roma. Aggiunta a Giacomo Boni: la vicenda della "flora monumentale" nei documenti dell'Archivio Centrale dello Stato* (Rome 1988), p. 112.
72. Cf. Massimo de Vico Fallani, *I parchi archeologici di Roma. Aggiunta a Giacomo Boni: la vicenda della "flora monumentale" nei documenti dell'Archivio Centrale dello Stato* (Rome 1988), p. 88.
73. Boni's initial list comprised 49 different species, including roses, violets, poppies, daffodils, pistachios, pines, arbutus, lorel, cypresses, orchids, acanthus, myrtle, oleander, aloe. Cf. Giacomo Boni, *Flora dei monumenti* (Rome 1892).
74. For a discussion of similarities and parallels of the concepts employed by Giacomo Boni and the German and British garden architects Willy Lange and William Robinson see Sonja Dümpelmann, *Maria Teresa Parpagliolo Shephard (1903–1974). Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklung der Gartenkultur in Italien im 20. Jahrhundert* (Weimar: VDG-Verlag 2004), pp. 173–175.
75. Cf. Kerstin Appelshäuser, *Die öffentliche Grünanlage im Städtebau Napoleons in Italien als politische Aussage* (Frankfurt am Main: Pollinger Schnelldruck 1994), pp. 89–102.
76. Cf. Alberto M. Racheli, 'Ville e giardini nei primi piani urbanistici di Roma capitale: i progetti e le trasformazioni', in Vincenzo Cazzato (ed.), *La memoria, il tempo, la storia nel giardino italiano fra '800 e '900* (Rome 1999), p. 395 (pp. 393–408).
77. Edwin Cerio, 'L'architettura minima nella contrada delle Sirene', *Architettura e arti decorative*, 2, 4. (1922), p. 174 (pp. 156–176).
78. Cf. Giuseppe Morganti, 'L'impiego del materiale vegetale nel restauro die monmenti antichi', in Vincenzo Cazzato (ed.), *La memoria, il tempo, la storia nel giardino italiano fra '800 e '900* (Rome 1999), p. 417 (pp. 409–430).
79. Fabrizio de Vico, 'Progetto per l'installazione di un parco arboreo sull'area del Macao', *Capitolium*, 17, 7 (1942), p. 209 (pp. 206–209).
80. Cf. Marie Luise Gothein, *Geschichte der Gartenkunst*, 1. Band (Jena 1914), p. 234; Günter Hartmann, *Die Ruine im Landschaftsgarten*, Grüne Reihe, Quellen und Forschungen zur Gartenkunst, vol. 3 (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft 1981), pp. 123–124.
81. Cf. Günter Hartmann, *Die Ruine im Landschaftsgarten*, Grüne Reihe, Quellen und Forschungen zur Gartenkunst, vol. 3 (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft 1981), pp. 11, 13, 33, 123–124.
82. Cf. Maria Teresa Parpagliolo, 'Giardini di Capri', *Domus*, 3, 32 (1930), pp. 60, 81 (pp. 58–60, 81).
83. Cf. Andreas Knaut, *Zurück zur Natur! Die Wurzeln der Ökologiebewegung*, ABN Arbeitsgemeinsschaft beruflicher und ehrenamtlicher Naturschutz e. V. Hg. Supplement 1 zum Jahrbuch für Naturschutz und Landschaftspflege (Greven 1993), pp. 280–269, 335–337.
84. Cf. e.g. Josef Hoffmann, 'Architektonisches von der Insel Capri. Ein Beitrag für malerische Architekturempfindungen', *Der Architekt. Wiener Monatshefte für Bauwesen und Decorative Kunst*, 3, (1897), pp. 13–14.
85. Cf. Richard Etlin, *Modernism in Italian Architecture, 1890–1940* (Cambridge, Mass., London, England 1991), p. 472.
86. Cf. Vincenzo Fontana, *Profilo di architettura italiana del Novecento* (Venice 1999), p. 214.
87. Cf. Maria Teresa Parpagliolo, 'Il giardino de "La Torre" disegnato dall'architetto G.B. Ceas', *Domus*, 6, 72 (1933), p. 672 (pp. 672–673).
88. Cf. Maria Teresa Parpagliolo, 'Giardini di Capri', *Domus*, 3, 32 (1930), p. 81 (pp. 58–60, 81).
89. Cf. Maria Teresa Parpagliolo, 'Il giardino di Villa Fiore', *Domus*, 7, 75 (1934), p. 44.
90. For more details on the appropriation of William Robinson's wild garden see Sonja Dümpelmann, *Maria Teresa Parpagliolo Shephard (1903–1974). Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklung der Gartenkunst in Italien im 20. Jahrhundert* (Weimar: VDG-Verlag), pp. 129, 173–175, 129, 134–137.
91. Cf. e.g. Gert Gröning and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, 'The ideology of the nature garden. Nationalistic trends in garden design in Germany during the early twentieth century', *Journal of Garden History*, 12, 1 (1992), pp. 73–80; Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, 'The Nationalization of Nature and the Naturalization of the German Nation: 'Teutonic' Trends in Early Twentieth–Century Landscape Design', in Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn (ed.), *Nature and Ideology* (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks 1997), pp. 187–220; Gert Gröning, 'Ideological Aspects of Nature Garden Concepts in Late Twentieth–Century Germany', in Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn (ed.), *Nature and Ideology* (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks 1997), pp. 221–248.
92. Bruno Braschi, 'Giardini italiani moderni', *I*

Giardini, 79, 10 (1933), pp. 237–238.

93. Writer and art critic; director of the art journal *Dedalo*; founder of the journals *Pegaso*, *Dedalo*, *Pan*; editor of important Italian newspapers; before the *Mostra del giardino italiano* he organized the two successful exhibitions *Mostra del Ritratto italiano* in 1911 and *Mostra della Pittura italiana del seicento e del settecento* in 1922 that were on show in Palazzo Vecchio in Florence.
94. Cf. Nello Tarchiani, 'La Mostra del giardino italiano in Palazzo Vecchio a Firenze', *Domus*, 4, 38, (1931), p. 15 (pp. 15–17).
95. Cf. DIR, 'L'esposizione del giardino italiano a Firenze nella prossima primavera, *Domus*, 3, 11 (1930), p. 19. Florence organized a program every year that highlighted a variety of the city's cultural aspects. In the following year 1932 the motto was going to be "Musical May of Florence" ("Maggio musicale fiorentino") during which Florence was supposed to be celebrated as the birthplace of antique melodrama and as centre of contemporary music culture. Alluding to its flower symbol, Florence was celebrated as "Firenze la città dei fiori" in 1931. During the festivities of the "Primavera Fiorentina" in 1932 a competition for the prettiest flower balcony was organized (cf. Maria Teresa Parpagliolo, 'Le finestre – i balconi e le terrazze fiorite', *Domus*, 9, 57 (1932), pp. 557–558). This competition is similar to the competition "Milano fiorita" ("Flowering Milan" 1929) in Milan and initiatives undertaken in the 1930s in Rome.
96. Cf. the minutes of the meeting of the organisational committee on November 19, 1930, cit. in appendix 2 in Vincenzo Cazzato, 'Firenze 1931: La consacrazione del "primato italiano" nell'arte dei giardini', *Il giardino. Idea natura realtà*, Kepos 1, (Milan 1987), pp. 101,–102 (pp. 77–108).
97. Luigi Dami, 'L'arte italiana dei giardini', *Rivista mensile del Touring Club italiano*, 20, 8 (1914), p. 559 (pp. 553–559).
98. Cf. Nello Tarchiani, 'La Mostra del giardino italiano in Palazzo Vecchio a Firenze', *Domus*, 4, 38 (1931), p. 15 (pp. 15–17).
99. Cf. Ugo Ojetti, *La Mostra del giardino italiano* (Florence 1931); Jahn Rusconi, 'La mostra del giardino italiano a Firenze', *Emporium*, 73, 437, (1931), pp. 268–270 (259–273); Vincenzo Cazzato, 'I giardini del desiderio. La Mostra del giardino italiano (Firenze 1931)', in Alessandro Vezzosi (ed.), *Il giardino romantico* (Florence 1986), pp. 82–83 (80–88).
100. See Jahn Rusconi, 'La mostra del giardino italiano a Firenze', *Emporium*, 73, 437 (1931), p. 270 (pp. 259–273) and Vincenzo Cazzato, 'Il giardino del desiderio. La mostra del giardino italiano (Firenze 1931)', in Alesssandro Vezzosi (ed.), *Il giardino romantico* (Florence 1986), pp. 80–88.
101. Cf. G[iò] P[onti], 'La casa all'italiana', *Domus*, 1, 1 (1928), 7; For a discussion of the 'casa all'italiana' in the fascist period see Maristella Casciato, 'The "Casa all'Italiana" and the idea of modern dwelling in fascist Italy', *Journal of Architecture*, 5 (2000), pp. 335–353.
102. Cf. Ermanno Biagini, 'La Mostra del giardino italiano a Firenze,' *Le vie d'Italia e dell'America Latina. Revista mensile del Touring Club Italiano*, 11 (1931), p. 651 (pp. 642–651).
103. Ugo Ojetti et al., *La Mostra del giardino italiano* (Florence 1931), p. 23.
104. Ojetti in the minutes of one committee meeting of the Mostra del giardino italiano cit. in Vincenzo Cazzato, 'Firenze 1931: La consacrazione del "primato italiano" nell'arte dei giardini', in Alessandro Tagliolini and Massimo Venturi Ferriolo (eds), *Il giardino. Idea natura realtà*, Kepos Quaderni 1 (Milan 1987), pp. 97–103 (77–108).
105. Cf. Vincenzo Cazzato, 'Giardini "regali" fra realtà e immaginazione nella mostra fiorentina del 1931', in Monica Amar (ed.), *Giardini regali. Fascino e immagini del verde nelle grandi dinastie: dai Medici agli Asburgo*, (Milan 1998), pp. 19–27.
106. Cf. Ferdinando Reggiori, 'Grandezza del giardino italiano. Il giardino italiano come espressione architettonica' *I Giardini*, 7, 83 (1937), p. 122 (pp. 121–124); Enrico Ratti, 'Giardini e architettura moderna. Relazione svolta al 1° Convegno nazionale del giardino a Varese', *Case d'oggi*, 4 (1938), pp. 31–32, 39.
107. Cf. Sonja Dümpelmann, '"The garden is a national amenity". Zur Gartenkultur unter faschistischer Herrschaft in Italien', in Uwe Schneider and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn (eds), *Gegen den Strom. Gert Gröning zum 60. Geburtstag*, Beiträge zur räumlichen Planung, Schriftenreihe des Fachbereichs Landschaftsarchitektur und Umweltentwicklung der Universität Hannover, Band 76, (Hannover, 2004), 93–110
108. Cf. Susanne von Falkenhausen, *Der zweite Futurismus und die Kunstpolitik des Faschismus in Italien* 1922–1943 (Frankfurt 1979), p. 41.
109. For a discussion of the *convegno del paesaggio* on Capri see e.g. Bruno Fiorentino, 'Dal paesaggio del mito al mito del paesaggio', in Gaetana Catone, Bruno Fiorentino and Giovanna Sarnella (eds), *Capri. La città e la terra* (Naples 1982, p. 322 (pp. 319–341); Ernesto Mazzetti, 'Edwin Cerio, soprintendente alla bellezza', introducing chapter in Edwin Cerio, *La casa, il giardino e la pergola nel paesaggio di Capri* (Naples 1997), p. 12 (pp. 7–13); Sonja Dümpelmann, *Maria Teresa Parpagliolo Shephard (1903–1974). Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklung der Gartenkultur in Italian im 20. Jahrhundert* (Weimar: VDG-Verlag 2004), 82–88.
110. Felice Azari, *La flora futurista ed equivalenti plastici di odori artificiali* (Rome 1924).
111. Mario Tinti, 'La mostra del giardino italiano', *La Casa Bella* 4, 41 (1931), p. 67 (pp. 35–40, 67).
112. Maria Pasolini Ponti, *Il giardino italiano* (Rome: Ermanno Loescher & Co. 1915), p. 27.
113. Cf. Cesare Chiodi, *La città moderna* (Milan 1935), pp. 185–293 and Domenico Filippone, *Le zone verdi nella moderna urbanistica italiana* (Milan 1937).
114. Cf. e.g. Mario Zocca, 'La politica del verde in Germania', *Urbanistica*, 7, 1 (1938), pp. 3–14; Giovanni Muzio, 'Il Problema del verde', *Urbanistica*, 7, 6 (1938), pp. 349–350; 'Il Problema del verde', *Urbanistica*, 7, 6 (1938), pp. 350–364.
115. Cf. 'Maria Shephard talks to Tony Southard. On

design No. 6', *Landscape Design*, 11, (1971), p. 11 (pp. 11–14); Maria Teresa Parpagliolo, 'Le zone verdi nelle città', *Domus*, 10, 111 (1937), p. 34 (pp. 33–40). For Porcinai's connections to Germany cf. Milena Matteini, 'Pietro Porcinai, architetto del giardino e del paesaggio', in Milena Matteini and Alessandro Giannini (eds), *Pietro Porcinai, architetto del giardino e del paesaggio* (Milan 1991), pp. 11–243.

116. Maria Teresa Parpagliolo, 'Le zone verdi nelle città', *Domus*, 10, 111 (1937), p. 40 (pp. 33–40).

117. Cf. e.g. Maria Teresa Parpagliolo, 'Le zone verdi nelle città', *Domus*, 10, 111 (1937), p. 37, 40 (pp. 33–40).

118. Cf. Michael Mappes, 'Mit dem Institut für Gartengestaltung von Berlin nach Rom', *Gartenkunst*, 51, 7 (1938), pp. 153–164.

119. Maria Teresa Parpagliolo and Guido Roda, 'Relazione sul viaggio in Germania dell'agosto 1938', in Massimo de Vico Fallani, *Parchi e Giardini dell'EUR* (Rome 1988), pp. 211–224.

120. Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Roma, E'42, busta 864, fasc. 7572. 1.

121. Gaetano Minnucci, 'I Giardini dell'Esposizione Universale di Roma', *Civiltà*, II, (1941), pp. 34, 46 (pp. 33–46).

122. Marcello Piacentini, 'Classicità dell'E 42', *Civiltà*, I, 1 (1940), p. 28 (pp. 22–30).

123. Cf. Massimo De Vico Fallani, '(1937–1943): Contributo alla storia dei parchi e giardini dell'E 42', in Maurizio Calvesi, Enrico Guidoni and Simonetta Lux (eds), *Urbanistica, architettura, arte e decorazione. E 42. Utopia e Scenario del Regime*, vol. 2, (Venice 1987), p. 160 (pp. 156–63).

124. The commission consisted of the landscape architects Parpagliolo, Guido and Giuseppe Roda, the architects Michele Busiri Vici and Luigi Piccinato, the vice presidents Cipriano Efisio Oppo and Carlo Pareschi, the secretary engineer Florio and Alfio Susini.

125. Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Roma, E'42, busta 869, fasc. 7677.

126. Cf. Dir., 'L'esposizione del giardino italiano a Firenze nella prossima primavera', *Domus*, 3, 11 (1930), p. 19; Vincenzo Cazzato, 'I giardini del desiderio. La Mostra del giardino italiano (Firenze 1931)', in Alessandro Vezzosi (ed.), *Il giardino romantico* (Florence 1986), pp. 81–82 (pp. 80–88).

127. In the description of their journey, Parpagliolo and Meccoli mentioned other Italian gardens as well. Cf. Maria T. Parpagliolo and Luigi [sic] Meccoli, 'Relazione sul viaggio di studio per la mostra del giardino italiano nell'Esposizione Universale di Roma effettuato dagli Architetti Parpagliolo e Meccoli del Servizio Architettura Parchi e Giardini dell'esposizione', in Massimo De Vico Fallani, *Parchi e Giardini dell'EUR*, (Rome: Nuova Editrice SPADA 1988), p. 240 (pp. 233–41). However, my analysis of their designs only reveals features copied from Villa d'Este, Villa Reale di Marlia, Villa Lante, Casino of Villa Farnese in Caprarola, Caserta and the botanical gardens of Padua.

128. Cf. Maria T. Parpagliolo and Luigi [sic] Meccoli, 'Relazione sul viaggio di studio per la mostra del giardino italiano nell'Esposizione Universale di Roma effettuato dagli Architetti Parpagliolo e Meccoli del Servizio Architettura Parchi e Giardini dell'esposizione', in Massimo De Vico Fallani, *Parchi e Giardini dell'EUR*, (Rome: Nuova Editrice SPADA 1988), p. 239 (pp. 233–41).

129. Maria T. Parpagliolo and Luigi [sic] Meccoli, 'Relazione sul viaggio di studio per la mostra del giardino italiano nell'Esposizione Universale di Roma effettuato dagli Architetti Parpagliolo e Meccoli del Servizio Architettura Parchi e Giardini dell'esposizione', in Massimo De Vico Fallani, *Parchi e Giardini dell'EUR*, (Rome: Nuova Editrice SPADA 1988), p. 239 (pp. 233–41).

130. Cf. Marcello Piacentini, 'Classicità dell'E 42', *Civiltà*, I, (1940), pp. 22–30.

131. Vittorio Cini, 'E 42 Programma di massima, giugno 1937' cited in Tullio Gregory and Achille Tartaro, *E 42. Utopia e Scenario del Regime, vol. 1, Ideologia e programma per l'Olimpiade delle civiltà* (Venice 1987), p. 154.

132. Maria T. Parpagliolo and Luigi [sic] Meccoli, 'Relazione sul viaggio di studio per la mostra del giardino italiano nell'Esposizione Universale di Roma effettuato dagli Architetti Parpagliolo e Meccoli del Servizio Architettura Parchi e Giardini dell'esposizione', in Massimo De Vico Fallani, *Parchi e Giardini dell'EUR*, (Rome: Nuova Editrice SPADA 1988), p. 240–241 (pp. 233–41).

133. Cf. Antonio Cederna, *Mussolini urbanista* (Bari 1981), pp. 53, 61.

134. Cf. Luigi Dami, 'L'arte italiana dei giardini', *Rivista mensile del Touring Club italiano*, 20, 8 (1914), p. 559 (pp. 553–559); Luigi Dami, *Il nostro giardino* (Florence 1923), p. 100; Maria Pasolini Ponti, *Il giardino italiano* (Rome: Ermanno Loescher & Co. 1915), p. 10.

135. Cf. Adolfo Gancia, 'Giardini, fiori e turismo', in Istituto Fascista di tecnica e Propaganda Agraria (ed.), *Per la difesa del giardino. Relazioni svolte al Primo Convegno Nazionale del Giardino Varese 15. Settembre 1937-XV*, (Rome 1937), p. 70 (pp. 65–75).

136. Cf. Luigi Parpagliolo, 'La protezione dei Giardini in relazione alla legge delle bellezze naturali', in Istituto Fascista di Tecnica e Propaganda Agraria (ed.), *Per la difesa del giardino. Relazioni svolte al Primo Convegno Nazionale del Giardino. Varese 15. Settembre 1937-XV* (Rome 1937), pp. 11–15 (pp. 5–15); *Il giardino fiorito. Rivista mensile della Società*, 9, 101 (1939), p. 131.

137. Cf. e.g. Gustavo Giovannoni, 'Piani regolatori paesaggistici', *Urbanistica*, 7, 5 (1938), pp. 276–280. James Sievert, *The Origins of Nature Conservation in Italy* (Bern: Peter Lang 2000), 209–214; Giuseppe Galasso, 'Dal convegno del paesaggio alle leggi per il paesaggio', in *1923–1993 Contributi a settanta anni dalla pubblicazione degli atti del Convegno del paesaggio* (Capri 1993), pp. 9–14; Giuseppe Gambirasio, (Giuseppe Gambirasio, 'La protezione del paesaggio dalla legge n. 1497 del 1939 ai piani paesistici', in Touring Club Italiano (ed.), *Il paesaggio italiano del novecento. Le grandi trasformazioni del territorio nei cento anni del Touring*, [Pioltello: Rotolito Lombardia], 1994, pp. 47–68)